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THE FAITH OF JAPAN

BY

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PRESIDENT OF DOSHISHA UNIVERSITY, KYOTO

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1914

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IN MEMORY OF
MY TEACHER AND PREDECESSOR
Joseph Hardy Neesima
EDUCATOR, PATRIOT AND CHRISTIAN

PREFACE

In response to the invitation of Hartford Theological Seminary, the following chapters, with the exception of the eighth, were delivered as "Lamson Lectures" in the autumn of 1910. The eighth chapter, containing the substance of the closing lecture, is taken by consent from the writer's article in the first number of the International Review of Missions. Prepared for oral presentation before a body of students, they still retain many characteristics of spoken rather than of written address.

Their governing purpose has been not so much a scholar's effort to make the elements of a people's faith clear to scholars as a Christian's endeavor to interpret the spirit of that faith unto fellow Christians of another race.

The writer, though possessing the advantage of personal experience in that of which he writes, is conscious of a consequent lack in perspective and of failure to realize his own ideal; yet trusts that

in some little measure the motive of these lectures may be understood and their purpose attained in hastening the fellowship of men of faith. If it be charged that, in these pages, only the bright side and the ideals of the Faith of Old Japan have been emphasized, while the dark side and the failures in practice have not been equally presented, let Carlyle's maxim be remembered "that for right judgment of any man or thing it is useful, nay essential, to see his good qualities before pronouncing on his bad."

Great obligations have been incurred; and complete acknowledgement is impossible. Japanese sources have been freely consulted, while among English works those of W. G. Aston, William E. Griffis, G. W. Knox, Arthur Lloyd, Inazo Nitobe, and Masaharu Anezaki have been of value.

Thanks are due Mr. Bunya Takiura for the collection of material; Professor Yoshimitsu Suzuki of Doshisha Academy for assistance in translation; Professor Ernest W. Clement of the First Government College, Tokyo, for criticism and valuable suggestion; Mr. Galen M. Fisher of Tokyo for correcting the proof-sheets and compiling the index; and Professor Frank A. Lombard of the

Department of Letters in Doshisha University, without whose literary assistance, especially in the metrical rendering of various poems, the preparation of these lectures would have been far more difficult.

TASUKU HARADA

KYOTO, JAPAN, *Sept.* 1, 1913.

The Hartford-Lamson Lectures on "The Religions of the World" are delivered at Hartford Theological Seminary in connection with the Lamson Fund, which was established by a group of friends in honor of the late Charles M. Lamson, D. D., sometime President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to assist in preparing students for the foreign missionary field. The Lectures are designed primarily to give to such students a good knowledge of the religious history, beliefs and customs of the peoples among whom they expect to labor. As they are delivered by scholars of the first rank, who are authorities in their respective fields it is expected that in published form they will prove to be of value to students generally.

NOTE:—In the pronunciation of Japanese words, consonants are to be sounded as in English while vowels should be given their Continental sound. Each syllable contains but one, a final vowel. Personal names in the case of ancient families have been printed according to Japanese order, the family name first, with the use of "–."

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THE HARTFORD-LAMSON LECTURES ON
THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

THE FAITH OF JAPAN

THE FAITH OF JAPAN

I

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL SKETCH

THE general title to this course of lectures has been chosen not without due consideration. Conscious of the obligation as well as the honor resting upon me, I have found my task of increasing difficulty. The great religions of the world, including those held by the Japanese, have been exhaustively treated by abler minds. To follow them in their research would result in little advantage to others, however profitable it might prove to myself. Moreover, to do justice to the religions of Japan in a short course of lectures like this would be beyond possibility. Therefore, it seemed necessary to find some new approach, some new method of presentation, by which I might hope to vitalize for others the more important elements of faith that have characterized the life of Japan. If I shall have succeeded in a

measure in this endeavor, I shall be more than satisfied.

By the Faith of Japan I have in mind not Shinto, Confucianism, Buddhism or Christianity, or any other religion, but that union of elements from each and all that have taken root in Japanese soil and moulded the thought and life of her people. In the treatment of these elements of her faith, I have, of course, considered the distinctive religions from which they were derived; but the Faith of Japan, to my mind, cannot be classified with satisfaction under any one religious system. Therefore, in order to secure a historical background of the main sources of Japanese faith, a brief sketch of the history of the religious life and thought of Japan will not be out of place.

As a nation, Japan is a most composite creation. No less so is her faith. For twenty centuries it has thriven, finding expression in manifold beliefs and ideas, foreign as well as native. Her only indigenous religion is Shinto. But as soon as she came in touch with the mainland of Asia, religions, philosophies, arts and literatures from the continent began to flow into the Island

Empire. The principal philosophical and ethical ideas may be grouped under the name of Confucianism, while by far the larger part of the religious customs and beliefs come under the name of Buddhism. Buddhism alone includes at present twelve sects and forty-nine sub-sects. Its beliefs are extremely diversified, and its literature is extensive beyond estimation. Taoistic thought came along with Confucianism. Hindu speculations and superstitions mingled with the religion of Shaka-Muni, and it is possible that Christian beliefs played not a small part in the development of that Buddhism which flourished during the ninth century. In the sixteenth century Christianity itself was the faith of several hundred thousands of the people. The process of adoption, modification, and assimilation went on for many centuries, creating those characteristics of temper and sentiment which have contributed to the quality of the faith of Japan.

Shinto has neither founder nor dogma, neither a creed nor system. Its name, "the way of the gods," was applied to a group of certain undefined beliefs, in order to distinguish it from other religions. Its free growth was hampered by the

other systems: Confucianism with its complete system of ethics, and Buddhism with its elaborate doctrines and ritual; but it exercised an influence no less powerful than the others in the religious life of the Yamato race.

Shinto was at first a nature worship to which was later added the worship of deified men. The "Kojiki" and the "Nihongi," ancient histories of Japan, the former completed in 712 A. D., and the latter in 720, are regarded by Shintoists as their sacred books. There are also prayers in archaic style, called *Norito*, orally brought down from the prehistoric period. Shinto, being inseparable from national life, naturally associates with itself the sense of loyalty and patriotism. Except during certain limited periods, it has been the religion of the Imperial family from the beginning to the present day. This fact largely explains the secret of its continued strength.

For the sake of clearness it should be noted that the term Shinto includes two distinct aspects: state Shinto and popular Shinto. State Shinto has been officially declared to be not a religion, but merely a deep veneration of the Imperial ancestors and festivities and rites in memory

of national heroes. This hero-worshipping Shinto prevails in some fifty thousand shrines, large and small, in charge of several thousand superintendents or guardians (*kannushi*), all of them under the control of the Bureau of Shrines. Popular Shinto on the other hand includes the various sects, such as Tenrikyo and the others named above. And these sects have nothing to do with the Bureau of Shrines, but are supervised like Buddhist and Christian sects by the Bureau of Religions.

Repeated attempts have been made to amalgamate Shinto with Buddhism. Kobo, the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, was a great scholar and a religious reformer of the eighth century. His effort to unite both religions into a syncretic system partially succeeded. The union of both is known as Ryobu Shinto (Twofold Shinto). On the Shinto side, Kitabatake-Chikafusa (d. 1354), a famous historian, suggested the possibility of uniting the two faiths. His idea was developed by his followers, who eventually organized themselves into a new sect called Yuitsu Shinto (Unified Shinto).

The eighteenth century witnessed the revival of Shinto. Among the leaders the names of

Kamo-Mabuchi (1697–1769) and Motoori-Norinaga (1730–1801) stand foremost. Their watchword was "return to the pure faith of Kami." National consciousness was appealed to, and the cultivation of the indigenous virtues was encouraged. Motoori is the author of that famous stanza, which more than any other arouses the national feeling of the Japanese.

"Isles of blest Japan!
Should your Yamato Spirit
Strangers seek to scan,
Say: scenting morn's sun-lit air,
Blows the cherry wild and fair!"[1]

In Hirata-Atsutane (1776–1843) we find a man of burning enthusiasm for pure Shinto. An acute critic and a wide scholar, he combatted both Buddhism and Confucianism. His writings are the best specimens of Shinto apologetics.

The Restoration in 1868, when the sovereign was restored to active authority, brought Shinto to the foreground, making it the religion of the day. Several proclamations issued by the new government in 1872 show the spirit of the age. One of them is as follows:

[1] Translation from "Bushido" by I. Nitobe.

1. Make real and objective the spirit of reverence for the gods and of love for country.

2. Seek to understand clearly the principles of Heaven and the true way of man.

3. Exalt and serve the Emperor, and obey and keep the commands of the government.

Their revival lasted but a short time. Buddhism and Confucianism gradually regained their strength; and Shinto is again losing ground.

Shinto as a popular religion is divided into thirteen different sects some of which are further subdivided. A sect called "Shinto" enrolls the largest number of adherents. Taisha, Kurozumi, Mitake, Shinshu, Shinri, Tenri, has each more than a million adherents. Practically all of them are polytheistic in belief; but the principal deities vary according to the different sects. Almost all of them worship the three deities of creation: Ame-no-minaka-nushi, Taka-mimusubi, and Kami-musubi, and also Amaterasu-omikami, the Sun-goddess, believed to be the great ancestor of the Imperial family. In addition to these deities, all Shintoists reverence all and every one of both major and minor deities in the shrines and temples—eight hundred myriads or numberless—in the whole empire.

Among the popular Shinto sects of recent origin, the Kurozumi sect, named after Kurozumi-Munetada (1779–1849), is worthy of note. The chief deity of the sect is Amaterasu-omikami, whose emblem, they believe, is no other than the sun. Kurozumi says: "The origin of all lives of the universe is Amaterasu-omikami, the mother-god, whose sunny spirit pervades the universe, giving birth to all things by its light and heat, and ceases not to nurture them all." In practice he comes very near to a monotheistic faith. Tenrikyo was founded by a woman of humble birth, and is at present a most popular sect. Remmonkyo is another of recent origin, established by a woman. In many sects of Shinto, superstitions and obscene practices mingle with naïve and innocent beliefs.

The introduction of Chinese literature into Japan first took place in the fifth century, when a Korean scholar, Wani, presented to the court the Rongo (Analects of Confucius) and the Senjimon (Thousand Ideographs). The crown prince studied under him and is said to have mastered these Chinese classics. Coming thus under favorable circumstances, Chinese learning was at once

adopted by the court and speedily spread among the upper classes of the people.

Confucianism has never been a religion in Japan. It has always remained a school of learning. Confucius himself was a teacher more than a philosopher. His political and ethical teachings, commonly known as Confucianism, have been the most powerful influence in the formation of the ethical character of the Japanese.

The followers of Confucius in Japan are not of one body, but are divided into a number of schools. I may mention here three as representative. The first is called the Shushi school, the chief founder of which is Chutze [1] of China who lived in the twelfth century and edited commentaries on Confucian classics. He was not a little influenced by Buddhist philosophy. Buddhist priests introduced this school of learning into Japan, and to them we must give the honor for having preserved culture and learning during the dark ages of the nation's history, against the revival of learning during the period of peace under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Shushi ex-

[1] *Shushi* in Japanese.

pounded the theory of *ri* (reason) and *ki* (spirit) which constitute the two fundamental principles of the universe. The philosophical views of this school are pantheistic, while its conceptions of life are positivistic; but the scholars laid emphasis on practical conduct more than on intellectual speculation. This school was upheld as the orthodox expounder of Confucianism for the three hundred years of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Naturally, therefore, the Shushi school was more influential than the others. Its representative scholars, Fujiwara-Seikwa (1583–1656), Muro-Kiuso (1658–1743), Kaibara-Ekken (1630–1714), and many others were men of upright and high moral character as well as of scholarly accomplishments.

The second school is called the Wang-Yang-Ming or Oyomei [1] school, after a Chinese scholar of the Ming dynasty, sometimes called the Socrates of the East. It advocated the theory known as *chiko itchi* or the union of knowledge and conduct. True knowledge involves conduct, and right conduct presupposes knowledge. *Ryochi* (which may be translated clear knowledge, or

[1] More commonly called *Yomei*.

conscience) is, according to Yomei, not only the essence of an individual nature, but the real entity of the universe. Its conception of the ultimate is pantheistic with a tendency to idealism. The greatest representative of the school is Nakae-Toju (1609–1648) better known as the Sage of Omi. His pupil, Kumazawa-Banzan (1615–1691), was renowned for his statesmanship as well as his learning. The idealistic philosophy of this school attracted many persons of active life. It is a noteworthy fact that a large number of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration came from this school.

The third or Classical school denounced the other schools of learning as defiled by Buddhism and other elements, and proclaimed the establishment of pure Confucianism. The founders of this school were Yamaka-Soko (1622–1685), and Ito-Jinsai (1627–1705) who studied independently and published the same view almost at the same time. Ito-Togai (1670–1736), Ogiu-Sorai (1666–1728), Dazai-Shuntai (1680–1747) are other representatives of this school. Bushido found in Yamaka its great expounder. His life and personal teachings had much influence over the Forty-seven Ronin, who played an unique tragedy in the

history of feudal Japan. Yamaka was a prophet of the modern samurai spirit.

There were many scholars who did not belong to any of these schools. Sato-Issai (1772–1859) stood half way between the first and second schools. Ninomiya-Sontoku (1787–1856) was independent and eclectic. He selected his ideas not only from the different schools of Confucianism, but from Shinto and Buddhism as well; and his teachings of economic and practical morality are exerting a wonderful influence on the present day life of Japan. The scholars of the Shingaku (heart learning) school also were largely eclectic.

All these Chinese scholars, however, were united in their devotion to Confucius, "before whom no one lived as great and after whom there will be no one equal to him." All of them agreed in regarding the Four Books and the Five Classics as authoritative. The Four Books occupied for them the place which the Four Gospels hold for Christian believers. Among the four, the Analects stood first and highest, for it contained the personal teachings of Confucius. This was by far the most widely read book before the new régime. Many books written in colloquial for the common

people were based on Confucian teachings, so that the influence of the Chinese sage extended far beyond the circle of the literary class.

The renaissance of the Chinese classics within the last few years is a reaction against the wholesale rejection of the time-honored learning. A recent symposium on one hundred standard books for favorite reading, collected from among scholars by a leading daily in Tokyo, revealed the fact that the Rongo still retains the highest place.[1] There is no doubt that Confucianism as a whole furnished flesh and blood to the ethical life of the nation, thus playing not a small part in the making of the faith of Japan.

In the reign of the Emperor Kimmei, the King of Kudara (one of three old Kingdoms in Korea) presented to the Emperor of Japan a statue of Buddha, scriptures, banners, and other ritual instruments. The present was made as a sign of

[1] To the inquiry put by the *Jiji Shimpo*, in 1909, answers were sent by more than a hundred men of position in all walks of life. Among more than one hundred books the Analects received the largest number of votes. The Book of Mencius came next; and it is interesting to note that the New Testament occupied the seventh place, while *Hekigan-Roku*, receiving the largest number of votes of any Buddhist book, came lower than fortieth in the list.

friendship and homage, but it was the first public event in the introduction of Buddhism. According to Japanese chronology, the date, 538 A. D. (some say 552) marks the beginning of the history of Japanese Buddhism. The letter that accompanied the present said:

"This teaching (*dharma*) is the most excellent of all teachings. It is hard to understand and is very hard to master; even Shuko and Confucius could not know well the teaching. It brings infinite and immeasurable fruits to its believers, even to the final enlightenment (*bodhi*). Just as the chintamani jewel is said to give inexhaustible wealth to its possessor, so the treasure of this glorious law never ceases to give response to those who seek for it. Moreover, it has come to Korea from India, far distant, and the people of the countries lying between these two are now all adherents of it."

It was a personal missionary message from a king to a sovereign. In regard to the new religion, the court was divided into two parties, one represented by the Mononobe family and another by the Soga family. The first opposed the worship of alien deities, the second favored the adop-

tion of the new faith. A fierce struggle followed between the two, but not so much for the truth as for the sake of political power. The Mononobe family represented militarism, naturally less cultivated. The Soga family, having charge of naturalized foreigners from the continent, were progressionists, more ready to welcome foreign civilization.

The history of Buddhism for the following fifty years is a record of its rise and fall with one party or the other. The fall of the Mononobe family, in 587, was the occasion of the full ascendency of the Soga family, which meant victory for the Buddhists. The event was commemorated by the erection of a large temple called Tennoji, in Osaka. Missionaries, artisans, physicians, and other professional people came from Korea and China during those years. Not a little did they assist the propagation of the new religion. Temples and monasteries were gradually established to some of which asylums and hospitals were attached.

An earnest and most powerful adherent of Buddhism was found in Shotoku-Taishi[1] (573–621), the

[1] *Taishi*, royal prince in Japanese.

Constantine of Japanese Buddhism. This imperial prince had control of the government in the reign of the Empress Suiko. He prepared a constitution of the country in seventeen articles, in which Buddhism was proclaimed the foundation for the state and the highest religion in the universe. He was not only an able statesman, but also a profound thinker and scholar. His lectures on Buddhist scriptures, written in beautiful Chinese are still preserved and show his thorough acquaintance with Buddhist philosophy. It is to be observed that, though his constitution is claimed to be founded on Buddhism, its moral tenets are largely derived from Confucianism. A singular point is that he does not mention "Kami," nor does he refer to an ancestor of the imperial family. His remarks on the relation of Shinto, Confucianism and Buddhism, comparing them to stem, branches and leaves, and fruit respectively, recorded in his biography, are probably a forgery by an eclectic scholar of a later period.

Even after Shotoku the court was not always in favor of Buddhism. But, because of intercourse with China, visits of priests and students were frequently exchanged. Students were sent

by the government to study religion as well as many other subjects, and brought home the civilization of the middle kingdom. Temples and monasteries, educational and philanthropic institutions, increased. Priests and nuns, many of them from the Imperial family, entered religious orders.

A climax was reached in the reign of the Emperor Shomu (724–748), who professed himself a servant of the Three Treasures (Buddha, Law, and Priesthood). During his reign temples were built in all the provinces and some of the finest specimens still remain in Nara and its vicinity. A colossal bronze statue of Roshana in the Todaiji Temple, Nara, over fifty-three feet in height and the largest in existence, is one of many religious objects of that period. Works of charity were also instituted by the Empress, whose example was imitated by the noble and wealthy.

Different sects were established one after another by priests, Chinese, Korean, and Indian, and by Japanese who brought back fruits of their study in China. In the Nara period the sects founded were the Sanron, Hosso, Kegon, Ritsu, Kusha, and Jojitsu. Out of those six, only two

small sects, the Hosso and the Kegon, remain at present. All these sects were simply transplanted as they were found on the other side of the sea.

What may be called distinct Japanese Buddhism dates from Dengyo (767–822) and Kobo (774–835), the two illustrious names in the early history of Buddhism. Both were commissioned by the Emperor to visit China in 804. The former came back the next year and established the Tendai sect. The latter came back a year later to found the Shingon sect. They are the two sects of the Heian period, dating after the removal of the capital from Nara to Kyoto. Magnificent temples with hundreds of halls and monasteries were built on Mount Hiei near Kyoto for the Tendai sect, and the same for Shingon on the summit of Mount Koya in the province of Kii. Thus the centre of religion was moved from the cities to the mountains.

The teachings of both Dengyo and Kobo were founded on mystical philosophy, though they greatly differed in their doctrines. Both agreed, however, in efforts to nationalize their beliefs. Prayers were repeated, chants recited, and incense burned for material blessings as much as for spirit-

ual grace. Their ideal was to unite religion and state in order to promote the prosperity of the Imperial House and of the nation. This secularization of Buddhism is most significant.

They also agreed to adapt Buddhism and harmonize it with the national consciousness. Therefore they admitted all existing Kami of Japan as incarnate forms of one or another Buddha. Ryobu Shinto, which I have already mentioned, was such a blending of Buddhism with the old religion of Japan, effected by Kobo. But he was also the inventor of the *Iroha* or alphabet of forty-eight syllables. He is also known as a builder of roads and bridges, a pioneer on many high mountains, a healer of diseases and a miracle-worker in all parts of the country. He and other priests were the introducers of arts, industries, music, medicine, astrology and other fruits of the Tang civilization.

Dengyo's child, the Tendai, was the mother of several other sects, some of which became more powerful than their parent. In the course of time Tendai and Kegon were also a prey to the corrupting influence of worldliness. They went so far as to convert their temples into fortresses, fighting against temporal powers or against other

sects. Their priests wore swords and carried weapons of battle. They doomed themselves to decline, "for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

The founding of the Shogunate or governor-generalship in Kamakura by Yoritomo at the end of the twelfth century was the result of a long struggle between military clans, which ended in the victory of the Minamoto family. The transference of the political centre from west to east brought radical changes in society. It was a fatal blow to the Buddhist sects hitherto under the patronage of the court and noble families. The time was ripe for the rise of new spiritual movements.

Such a movement started in the rise of the Jodo or Pure Land sect. The teaching of Jodo was not altogether a new doctrine. In the monastery on Mount Hiei it had been taught esoterically for hundreds of years. In the tenth century Kuya proclaimed faith in Amida and propagated it by singing songs of salvation. Another forerunner of the Jodo sect was Ryonin, the founder of a sect called Yuzunembutsu. A bold exponent of the new faith, regardless of other doctrines, was Honen

(1133–1212), the real founder of the Jodo sect. The son of a samurai, he entered a Buddhist monastery at the age of nine years, and studied later at Mount Hiei, where he distinguished himself among his fellow disciples as a virtuous monk. In the forty-second year of his age his final conversion to a simple faith in salvation by Amida was completed.

Shinran (1173–1262), the founder of the Jodo-Shin or the True Pure Land sect, was a disciple of Honen. Like his master he first entered the Tendai sect. Being dissatisfied with the doctrines and practices of that church, he became a follower of Honen. Eventually he pressed the doctrine to its logical extreme and preached the unlimited power of faith in Amida. Thus Buddhism was made "the way" for all sorts of men, ignorant as well as wise, sinful as well as holy. This was a most unique development of the religion of Buddha. The Shin sect makes no difference between priests and laymen as far as concerns the way of obtaining salvation, the only difference being in their profession; hence it also allows its priests to marry and to eat flesh, which are prohibited to the

priests of other sects. The sect has become the most popular form of Buddhism at present.

The Zen sect was a great contrast to Jodo and Shin in the emphasis it put on enlightenment of mind and on stoical character. The former is subjective and the latter two are objective. Zen was the religion of the military class, among whom it found many adherents. Its contribution to the formation of Bushido should not be overlooked.

The last but not the least of the remarkable chain of religious leaders was Nichiren (1222–1282) the founder of the sect bearing his name. With a strong personality, fired by combative enthusiasm, he proclaimed salvation by the repetition of the name of the sacred scripture. It was the time when Japan was under fear of invasion by Kublai the Mongol emperor. Nichiren warned the nation that, if they accepted not the true faith, the country would be vanquished by the invader. He exclaimed: "Know that the Jodo is the way to hell, the Zen the teaching of infernal hosts, the Shingon a heresy to destroy the nation, and the Ritsu, an enemy of the land." Persecutions and trials only confirmed his faith in

the power of the Sutra for which he counted not his life precious.

The pietism of Jodo, the intuitionalism of Zen, and the revivalism of Nichiren represented the three spiritual forces of the Kamakura period, all of which remained through the succeeding periods of Ashikaga and Tokugawa. For six centuries after Nichiren, the Jodo, Shin, and Nichiren sects remained popular forms of Buddhism; the Shingon Tendai, and Zen taking secondary place. But during these periods none arose among the priests, who was equal to any of the great men of the Kamakura period in personality and scholarship.

The sixteenth century witnessed the coming of Roman Catholic Christianity. At one time it counted several hundreds of thousands of converts. Some of the daimyos were earnest believers. But it was suppressed by persecutions after a brief life, not long enough to play a role in the spiritual development of the nation. That task was left to the preachers of the gospel in the new era of Meiji.

Any exposition of the faith of the Japanese would be incomplete without a reference to Bushido, the code of the samurai or knightly

class. It is not a religion nor a system of morality. It has never been organized, but always remained a principle. The indigenous faith, with Chinese ethics and Indian philosophy, combined to develop the principle that arose as a product of the social environment of the feudal system. The Restoration of the sovereignty to the Emperor and the unification of the empire accentuated the spirit of loyalty to the sovereign. Patriotic sentiment was awakened by Japan's coming into intercourse with foreign powers. A most powerful motive in the Japanese breast is the spirit of loyalty and patriotism; and it is therefore not strange that *chugi* or the spirit of loyalty entered into the faith of the Japanese.

For the students of comparative religion, Japan presents some of the most interesting phenomena. Here three principal systems with several subsidiary principles and beliefs existed side by side for many centuries, each with its peculiar characteristics, passing through various stages of evolution. They are the factors that have developed the religious consciousness of the Japanese nation.

Moreover, Japan is on the eve of the greatest transformation in her history under the influence

of Western religion, science, literature, art, and industry. She is shaken to the very foundations of society. The religious ideas of the West have brought new world-views to the young-old nation of the East. Meanwhile the old faiths are still powerful among the mass of the people. Religionists are struggling to keep their position. Not a few conservatives are trying to check the tide of Western ideals and standards. It recalls the struggle of the old and new faiths in the latter days of the Roman Empire. The conflict in the Far East at present, though it be different in kind, is no less severe than in the ancient West, and the outcome is no less a matter of intense interest.

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II

KAMI: THE CONCEPTION OF DEITY

Kami is the Japanese word for deity. Its derivation is uncertain. Some see in it an abbreviation of *kangami*, meaning "to look at," "to judge," "to decide"; others, a form of *kimi*, or "lord"; while still others propose *kabi*, "the mysterious," as its origin. A comparatively modern theory traces it to an Ainu word, *kamui*, meaning "he who or that which covers or overshadows," and so represents divinity. The generally accepted derivation, however, is that to be traced in modified meanings of the same word *kami*, signifying that which is "above" or "superior," in contrast to *shimo*, signifying that which is "below" or "inferior." The upper part of the body is *kami*, while the lower part is *shimo*. A man of superior rank is *kami*, while an inferior is *shimo*. Heaven is *kami*, earth is *shimo*. So general is the term that it lends itself readily as an appellation of that which is looked upon with fear or respect, as

above man in power or superior in any attribute. Motoori, the eminent Shinto scholar, says:

"The term *kami* is applied in the first place to the various deities of Heaven and Earth who are mentioned in the ancient records, as well as to their spirits which reside in the shrines where they are worshipped. Moreover, not only human beings, but birds and beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which deserve to be dreaded and revered for the extraordinary and pre-eminent powers which they possess, are called *kami*. They need not be eminent for surpassing nobleness, goodness, or serviceableness alone. Malignant and uncanny beings are also called *kami*, if only they are objects of general dread." *Kojikiden*, Vol. I. [1]

In the Chinese ideograph, used by the Japanese, the word for "god" and the word for "upper" are distinctly different. The character *shin*, meaning divine or mysterious, represents god; while the character *jo* is an adjective or noun meaning upper or superior. Thus, in writing, those two ideas have never been confounded; and at present there is no suggestion of identity between them.

Japan has been called the Land of the Kami: a sacred land or country wherein the gods dwell. The Japanese believe themselves to be the de-

[1] See my article on "God (Japanese)" in "The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," Edited by James Hastings, Vol. vi.

scendants of Kami. The Imperial family traces its origin to the early rulers of the land who were descended from Kami. In Japanese mythology, Kami are men, and men are sometimes gods. It is therefore extremely difficult to know whether the one or the other is intended by the term.

The "Kojiki," the oldest of our historical writings, is the Japanese Book of Genesis. It contains myths, legends, and the earliest history of the people. This book, with the "Nihongi," contains the religious mythology and the political chronology of the Yamato race. The prologue of the "Kojiki" runs as follows:

"The names of the Deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August Centre-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous Deity. These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons.[1] The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot, when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-

[1] Sometimes translated self-existent and invisible.

Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons. The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities." [1]

There are not a few scholars who find in the early beliefs of the Japanese merely a primitive ancestor worship. According to them, the so-called heavenly deities are no other than historical personages deified after death. All the dead were supposed to become gods, for "all gods are men." The theory does not satisfactorily account for the manifold nomenclature of the gods with its evident association with natural phenomena. It is one thing to say that the Imperial family were believed to be descended from deity, and quite another to say that all deities are the ghosts of ancestors who once inhabited the earth.

There are those who read in the same cosmogony a tale of the heavenly bodies. A representative of this school says: "The first five gods mentioned in the 'Kojiki' were in 'the Plain of High Heaven' and might possibly be stellar

[1] English translation by B. H. Chamberlain; "Kojiki," p. 15.

deities. The last two were pronounced to be 'from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot, when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like.' One of these might have been a comet or meteor, and the other, the Heaven-Eternally-Standing-Deity, the pole star, or possibly the sun." [1] Following this interpretation, we may further read in the Floating Bridge of Heaven a tale of the rainbow in the sky; and, in the story of the Retiring of Amaterasu into the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, a myth concerning an eclipse.

This may be extreme, but we must admit that there are undeniable traces of nature worship in Japanese mythology. We find a sun-goddess, a moon-god, a mountain-god, a sea-god, an earth-god, a wind-god, etc., associated with the various phenomena of nature. It is safe to say that Naturism was the primitive faith of the Japanese.

In Naturism various natural phenomena which awakened awe and reverence, such as the sun and moon, fire and water, wind and storm, were worshiped, and various divine names were given to the powers controlling the more noticeable

[1] N. G. Munro, "Prehistoric Japan," p. 630.

manifestations of nature. To this limited body of divinity others were added, and not a few from foreign countries were recognized, until the number was generously stated as "eight hundred myriads," and the country was called "the Land of Gods." According to an official record, compiled in A. D. 901, the number of shrines at that time was 2861, while the number of deities worshiped therein was given as 3132. This multiplication of deities has continued until the present time, and the latest official statistics give the number of Shinto shrines of all grades as 190,436. These shrines are sacred to: (1) mythical gods, (2) patriots and heroes, (3) phenomena and objects of nature, and (4) various animals and objects. Among the shrines recognized as governmental and national, those under the special supervision of the provincial or national government are classified as follows: sacred to mythical gods, 100; to emperors and members of the Imperial family, 25; to patriots and heroes, 30; to sacred swords and dragons, etc., 6. The deities worshiped by the Japanese might be roughly grouped as: (1) stellar bodies; (2) the elements of earth, air, fire, and water; (3) natural phenomena; (4) prominent natural objects, as

mountains, rocks, trees and caverns; (5) men; (6) animals; and (7) manufactured objects: in short, anything conspicuous or exalted. Not infrequently the people worship Kami of which they know absolutely nothing as to nature, origin, or being. "What god we know not, yet a god there dwells."

It does not follow that these manifold gods have been regarded as of equal importance, nor have they all been reverenced by the mass of the people.[1] That a pure monotheistic faith never found a favorable soil in Japan is indisputable. Japan has always remained polytheistic: but that does not necessarily preclude the belief in chief deities to whom special homage is due.

In the opening chapters of the "Kojiki" marked distinction is given to three deities: Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-mikoto (the Deity-master-of-the august-centre-heaven), Takami-musubi-no-kami (the High-august-producing-wondrous-deity), and Kami-musubi-no-kami (the Divine-producing-wondrous-deity), who are said to have been "born in the plain of High Heaven when the

[1] See my article on "God (Japanese)" in "The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," edited by James Hastings, Vol. vi.

heaven and the earth began." To them alone certain modern Shinto sects pay reverence.

We learn from the "Kojiki" that a heavenly deity appeared to Jimmu, the first Emperor, in a dream and told him to worship the heavenly and earthly deities. This he did; and after his coronation, when the land of Yamato was pacified, he built the divine hedge and worshiped the Deity of Eight Pillars, probably the deity enshrined in a temple supported by eight pillars. The same deity is mentioned as a heavenly deity in the latter part of the same account. In later ages upon similar occasions the emperor acted as priest for the whole nation.

In ancient times the first and chief function of the sovereign was that of a priest in the worship of gods. It is interesting to note that in the Japanese language the word government, or administration, is derived from the word that means worship. *Matsurigoto* was originally service to the Kami and that seems to have been the sole function of the sovereign at the beginning. The sovereign worshiped the heavenly and earthly deities, offered prayer for peace and prosperity on behalf of the people. When the people were

peaceful and the land prosperous, it was believed that the Kami were pleased and that the worship was acceptable to them. But, on the other hand, when the people were insurgent and the land distressed, it was understood that the Kami were not pleased with the country and the people. Then was the time when the sovereign should first of all purify himself, abstain from luxury, and worship the Kami.

In the reign of the Emperor Suinin, in the first century A. D., a great number of the people died from pestilence. The Emperor built shrines and offered prayers to the gods of heaven and earth. The idea of the priesthood of the sovereign has never been abandoned. Even at the present time, on national holidays such as *Shihohai*, the worship of the four directions on new year's day, *Niinamesai*, the harvest festival, and on similar occasions, the Emperor or his special representative performs the ceremony for the people.

This is, strictly speaking, not ancestor worship, for the deities thus worshiped are not the ghosts of dead ancestors but Kami whose descendants they themselves claim to be. Jehovah of the Israelites was God among many gods and the

chief of the hosts of heaven. He was the father and the Israelites were his children; yet the Jews might not have been called ancestor worshipers. The theory of Spencer, tracing the origin of religion to the fear of the spirits of the departed, and the application of that theory by Lafcadio Hearn to the original faith of the Japanese seems to me to be a reversal of the fact. The idea of claiming the deities as ancestors is the matured thought of a more advanced age.

Coming to the nature deities, the Sun-goddess always occupied the foremost rank. Amaterasu, the great ancestress of the Imperial family, has been identified with that goddess. Sun-worship preceded and claiming her as an ancestress followed. To intelligent people, Amaterasu is an august lady, whose virtues are as illustrious as the sun, granting the right of sovereignty to the first Emperor of Yamato. To the populace, she is an eternal deity whose abode is in the sky and whose image is the sun.

History records that in the reign of Jimmu, his elder brother, facing the east, was pierced in the hand by the arrow of an hostile prince. He said in explanation: "It is not right for me, an august

child of the Sun-deity, to fight facing the Sun." So he turned his back to the sun and was victorious. After the complete subjugation of his enemies, in the fourth year of his reign, the Sun-goddess, together with two other deities, was worshiped by the Emperor. Here we find an evident trace of sun-worship.

One belonging to a modern sect of Shinto, founded by Kurozumi-Munetada, looks up to the sun as the chief object of worship, exclusive of all other deities. Kurozumi regarded the sun as the perfect emblem of Amaterasu who, according to him, is the Living Spirit and the Life-giver of all things. Sun-worship is not peculiar to the Japanese. In India the sun is worshiped under various names, among which is *Mitra* meaning protector from death. Many ruling dynasties in India claim descent from him. To the Hindus, the sun is the soul of the movable and immovable. A Brahman worships him with ablution of water and a hymn, saying: "We contemplate the brilliant Light of the God-Sun. May he guide our intellect." Then he prostrates himself at least twelve times before the sun, saluting him with a different name each time. "The

name of the first day of the week still remains to show what an important place he held in the religion of our forefathers. The association of the ideas of light, splendor, and brightness with divinity has its origin in a primeval Sun-worship." [1]

Dr. Joseph Edkins, the famous sinologue, observes a resemblance in Japanese mythology to that of Babylonia and says the former might have been brought from Chaldea. The sun is a goddess among the Babylonians as well as among the Mongolians and Japanese. He further conjectures that Amaterasu was from the same origin as the Persian Misra and Indian Nitra.[2]

So-called ancestor worship is misleading. Reverence for the memory of the dead and tendance upon their spirits is not necessarily worship. "The distinction between worship and the placation, or tendance of the dead, is one of great importance, which many of our travellers and observers have failed to appreciate. There are cases in which the dead are worshiped; but those of placation and ministration to the needs of the

[1] W. G. Aston, "Shinto," pp. 121–122.
[2] Joseph Edkins, "Propagation of Primitive Belief."

departed in the other world are much more numerous." [1] The larger part of so-called ancestor worship in Japan belongs to the latter class. The term "communion of saints" comes nearer than worship to expressing the idea.

The introduction of Chinese learning modified earlier conceptions of the Kami. In the times of Yao and Shun, centuries before Christ, the Chinese worshiped *Shanti* or the Supreme Ruler. They believed that by his decree kings ruled and executed judgment; in his hands were the issues of life and death. This ancient faith has been preserved until our day. At the grand altar of Heaven in Pekin, sacrifice was offered with auspicious ceremony to the Imperial Heaven-Supreme Ruler by the emperor once a year at the winter solstice.

The word *Shanti* is not found in the teachings of Confucius. He preferred the word *Heaven* as did the Hebrews who called their God by other titles than his name Yahweh. The Chinese character *Tien* means *one great;* and by that is signified either the blue sky, an impersonal something, or

[1] Wm. Crooke, on "Ancestor Worship," in "The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics." Vol. i.

the Supreme Being. In *Shikyo* and *Shokyo* [1] it is used interchangeably with Supreme Being, Heavenly Emperor, Imperial Heaven, making it clear that it is regarded as a personal being. In like manner the word *order* was believed to signify an oracle of the Supreme Being; and later came to mean providence. *Shokyo* declares that it should be the most earnest desire of the king to be mindful of the Heavenly Order and to hate evil.

Confucius never philosophized concerning the idea of Heaven. The philosophizing was done by scholars of the Lautze and Chwangtze schools, and later developed by the Shushi school,[2] under the influence of Buddhism. The "Heaven" of Confucius is far from the speculative conceptions of pantheistic philosophers, and comes nearer to signifying personal being. Otherwise it is hard to explain some of his sayings as, for example, "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray." "It is only Heaven who knoweth me." When he was threatened by his opponents, he said without fear: "While Heaven does not let

[1] *Shikyo* and *Shokyo* are the Chinese classics, commonly known as the "Book of Poetry" and the "Ancient Chronicles."

[2] *Lautze=Rōshi, Chwangtze=Soshi, Chutze=Shushi,* in Japanese.

the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?" "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Hwan T'uy, what can he do to me?" To explain these words of Confucius as reason or absolute or principle or any other non-personal conception is only to wrest his meaning.

"Shushi indeed never expressed his belief in a personal God. But in spite of his explaining away the words in the Classics as being metaphors, he himself takes special care to use such phrases as that "Heaven let the human race down (on earth)"; "Heaven appointed sages to govern and teach the people how to recover the original state of their nature"; "Heaven gives, man receives"; and so forth. He says the word "Heaven" in the Classics means sometimes the blue sky, sometimes the Lord, and sometimes simply reason (*ri*) and it is therefore clear that to him it does not always mean reason. It appears from his writings that there are also these three meanings for Heaven in Shushi's own use of the word. It seems quite probable that he had a vague idea of something presiding over the world, a "Shusai" or Lord, who is a kind of First Cause and the Ruler of the Universe.

"Yomei was an idealist. He asserted that apart from our heart there exists nothing. The heart is the same as the Way and the Way is the same as Heaven. If a man knows his heart he knows the Way and if he knows the Way he knows Heaven. Yomei was in his early days a follower of Buddhism and his works show strong marks of its influence. But he rejected that religion, for "the end of his doctrine is not self-absorption in mystic contemplation, but the attainment of virtue, the attainment of the practical virtue needed by men alive and of the world." [1]

The conceptions of both the Shushi and the Yomei schools had great influence on the Chinese scholars of Japan. The worship of *Ten*, or *Shanti* was never instituted, for *Shanti* would have become merely a Kami to the Japanese; but the ideas of *Ten* and Kami mutually influenced each other, until through association the terms at present are well-nigh interchangeable. If we may say that *Ten* universalized the idea in Kami, it would also be fair to say that Kami personalized the idea in *Ten*.

[1] G. W. Knox, "A Japanese Philosopher" in "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. xx. pp. 12, 13.

The Japanese scholars of the Shushi and Yomei schools, as well as those of the classical school, freely expressed their belief in and paid reverence to Heaven. Muro-Kiuso used the words Heaven and Kami as identical when he said: "Think not God is something distant, but seek for him in your heart, for the heart is the abode of God." Then he goes on to say: "That which in Heaven begets all things is, in man, that which makes him love his neighbor, so doubt not that Heaven loves goodness of heart and hates its opposite." "Reverence for Heaven and one's ancestors" writes Sorai, "is the foundation of the Way of the sages." Dazai-Shuntai says: "As the sage knows Heaven to be living, he never forgets to revere it all his life, just as a man serves his august king." He also says: "All the fortunes of man, whether prosperity or calamity, happiness or sorrow, are in accordance with the will of Heaven. Prosperity which is not bestowed by Heaven cannot be received no matter to what Kami one may pray. For among all the so-called Kami there is none so lofty and mighty as Heaven."

Kaibara-Ekken was never tired of preaching the duty of man toward Heaven. He said: "Man

in the universe is receiving limitless benefits from Heaven. The virtues of Heaven are so boundless that man can never adequately repay the favors he receives. It is, however, the duty of man to keep in mind the fact, and strive to repay, though what he can do may be only a little. Therefore, he must serve Heaven throughout his whole life and must never be ungrateful or forgetful of Heaven."

Belief in Heaven as the Supreme Force, the Providence over all, and the criterion of all, to whom is due allegiance to the uttermost, may be said to be universal among the Japanese, while individuals and classes reverence also in particular certain other subordinate Kami. To the *tenyu* or grace of Heaven marvelous victories in the Russo-Japanese war were ascribed. Poems both Japanese and Chinese abound in such expressions as *Koten* (Imperial Heaven), *Shotei* (Supreme Ruler), *Shimmei* (Divine Intelligence), *Ametsuchi-no-Kami* (God of Heaven and Earth), *Amatsu-Kami* (Heavenly God) and many similar.

"Who is he whose heart is true?
He will stand without a blush
Before the God invisible." [1]

[1] The word here translated "God" might be translated in the plural, but this rendering is permissible, at least.

The above stanza expresses the conviction of its author, the late Emperor, Meiji Tenno.

> "However lone one thinks himself to be,
> The God of heaven and earth perceives full well
> The good and evil thoughts within the heart."

Thus the Empress Dowager declared her consciousness of one all-knowing.

The translation of the English word "God" by the Japanese *Kami* is not entirely satisfactory; but, in spite of the polytheistic ideas long associated with the term, it has been in a remarkable degree filled with the content of the English word as limited in Western religious and philosophic thought. The confusion becomes daily less; and the idea of a unitary Supreme Being is now one of the first conveyed to the educated Japanese mind by the word Kami. The definition of the word in modern Japanese dictionaries is significant: (1) A spirit which is thought to exist invisibly, with unlimited supernatural power of good or ill, to punish crime and reward virtue in human beings; an object of religious trust or fear; (2) the honorific name given to rulers previous to the reign of Jimmu; (3) the name applied to spirits enshrined in Shinto shrines; (4) the Christian

God, the almighty and omnipresent creator and ruler; the Heavenly Ruler; (5) the spirits of the dead in Shinto funeral ceremonies; (6) that which transcends human understanding.[1] Or again (1) God; a deity; supernatural being; (2) the consecrated spirit of the dead, especially of an emperor, sage or hero; (3) that which cannot be conceived by the human mind; a miracle.[2]

A significant fact is the absence of all tendency to objectify the deity in visible form. The use of images and idols is not indigenous to Japan, for one characteristic of pure Shinto is the absence of all figures. A mirror is usually placed in the holy place within the shrine. The mirror within the shrine at Ise is alleged to be the one upon which looked Amaterasu. Such sacred mirrors are not strictly objects of worship, but "typical of the human heart which in its purity reflects the image of Deity"; and faithful followers of Shinto are instructed to bow before the mirror of the shrine in an act of self-examination. Image-making dates from the coming of Buddhism; and the

[1] "Jirin" by S. Kanazawa, 1907.

[2] "Japanese-English Dictionary" by F. Brinkley and others, 1896.

influence of Buddhism in this particular is to be noted even upon Shinto, for gradually a mutual adaptation took place and various images came to be placed in the Shinto shrines. The custom of keeping the family tablet (*ihai*) of ancestors was also introduced with Buddhism from China.

Similarly noticeable is the absence of any serious attempt to define the character or attributes of Kami. The Japanese mind in all ages has been quite content without definite conceptions of Kami. The people have not cared to idolize Kami even to their spiritual sight. Kami should remain forever mysterious and incomprehensible. "Sawaranu Kami ni tatari nashi:" Touch not the Kami, and no evil will fall. To leave them alone and revere them from a distance was the principle usually followed.

"What here may be enshrined I know not;
Yet solemn tears of thankfulness mine eyes o'erflow."

Shinto is a religion without a creed, and without ethical requirement; yet from the first sincerity of heart and ceremonial cleanliness have been demanded.

Harai tamaye, Kiyome tamaye!
Cleanse, I implore thee, Purify, I pray!

This the worshiper cries as with washing of mouth and hands he prepares to present himself before the gods; and there needs but the deepening of this requirement to fit the worshiper in purity of heart to come before that High God, whose name is holy, who seeketh the pure in heart to worship Him.

III

MICHI: THE WAY OF HUMANITY

By *Michi*, the Way, is intended a mysterious, unformulated, yet influential conception, carrying with it a sense of awe and solemnity. The word Michi is probably the most expressive term in the Japanese vocabulary of ethics and religion. Primarily, and as in common use, it means path or road. In religion and ethics, it means way, teaching, doctrine, or, as sometimes translated, principle. In Chinese, Michi finds its equivalent in Tao, which, in addition to the meaning of Michi, means also the word, the expression of thought, thus signifying teaching, leading, or directing. It is also the term used in translating the Greek Logos of the Gospel by John. In Japanese literature, in prose as well as in poetry, Michi is a common word expressive of various high and noble thoughts and feelings. An ennobling atmosphere breathes from its presence. A man of Michi is a man of character, of justice, of principle, of conviction, obedient to the nature

of his humanity. To be accused of having wandered from the Michi is to suffer an insult, for it implies perversity to that which is most essentially manly. Michi is a heaven-given constituent, the ideal of heaven to be realized in humanity. Again, Michi is the path of life taught as the ideal and accepted as such to be followed. Confucianism is called the Michi of scholars and of sages; Buddhism is the Michi of Buddha and Shinto the Michi of Kami. Morality is Michi, the harmony of life with the ideal; and even reason is thought of as of the essence of Michi. But in whatever meaning employed, Michi expresses a very deep and serious conception, linking the subject in some awe-inspiring way with the height and the depth of the Great All. It implies the essence of human life linked with a life superhuman.

"If in the secret heart
We follow the hallowed Way,
Surely the gods will guard,
Though never a prayer we say."

So sang Michizane, a scholar and statesman of the ninth century, in an immortal verse familiar to all classes of Japan.

The Michi of the ancient Japanese was doubtless most naïve and simple. Before the use of the word *Shinto* to designate the Way of the native gods in distinction from those introduced by foreigners, *kannagara* denoted the religious ideal of the people: "an unconscious observance of the Way" believed to have existed from time immemorial. To act in accord with the course of nature, without conscious effort, obedient to the impulse of constitutional prompting, is the highest virtue in Shinto eyes. The course of nature is the will of the gods. The will of the gods is performed in all that acts naturally. Here is extreme simplicity, utter faith in the rightness of the natural. Such is the core of the Japanese Michi.

The lack of ethical content in the original faith of the Japanese has been often noted, and is indeed most evident. Yet this very lack has in itself been claimed as a characteristic of great credit in that the race needed no complicated system of morality, being free to be natural in its self-expression, and hence more truly in accord with the Way. There have been scholars who have sought to defend the Shinto against the Buddhist or Confucian faith on the ground that,

the Way of the Kami being clear to the heart of the people, they should be left free to follow the dictates of their natural impulses. Kamo-Mabuchi declared that Japan was governed by the will of Heaven and hence was free from all such petty and pedantic regulations as characterized Confucian rule. "Human beings, having been produced by the spirits of the two creative deities, are naturally endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do and what they ought to refrain from doing. It is unnecessary for them to trouble their heads with systems of morality. Were systems of morality necessary, men would be inferior to beasts, all of which are endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do, only in a degree inferior to men." Thus asserted Motoori, declaring that the non-existence of any ethical system in Japan proves the moral superiority of the Japanese over the Chinese who possess and need such a system! Such an extravagant attitude of self-sufficiency was quite foreign to early thought; and evidences the reaction against the often elaborate and pedantic code which later was introduced from China.

For the philosophical conception of ethical

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ideals the Japanese are in a large measure indebted to China. The early simplicity of the original Japanese ideal received various complex accretions from the introduction of Chinese thought, dating at least as early as the fifth century A. D. The first unmistakable influence of Chinese ethical ideals is seen in the so-called "Constitution" of Shotoku early in the seventh century. This Constitution of seventeen articles is a series of politico-ethical statements setting forth the moral principles that should be observed by the state and by individuals; and is preserved for us in the "Nihongi," an ancient history second in interest only to the "Kojiki." Shotoku was regent from 593 to 621 A. D. and under his patronage Buddhism first gained firm footing in Japan. He praised Buddhism as the "destination of all mankind" and the "ideal doctrine of all nations"; but in treating of ethical principles certain articles of the Constitution are clear expressions of Confucian teachings, especially in that "propriety" is made the cardinal virtue and "fidelity" the foundation of justice.

Shotoku's attitude of indifference to the Shinto cult and his failure to mention its fundamental

principle of sovereignty derived from the divine ancestors has been pointed out by scholars and severely criticized by Shinto writers. For this there may have seemed to him a sufficiently strong political reason at the time, for his intent was clearly to establish the authority of the throne as against the rising power of certain prominent families. This, however, is aside from our present interest; and in any case the Constitution marks the opening of the way for the later flood of Chinese ethical influence.

The Chinese Tao, which now began to give its meaning to the Japanese Michi, is of a more complex nature. According to Yih King (Book of Changes) Tao is the order of the universe by which Yang and Yin operate and produce all things in heaven and earth, including mankind. Yang is active, Yin is passive.[1] They find expression in all phenomena of the universe, as heaven and earth, day and night, man and woman, heat and cold. Tao is not the creator, but the law without which nothing comes into being. Tao is not the act of creation, but is operative through eter-

[1] *Yih King=Eki-Kyo, Li Ki=Rei-Ki, Yang=Yo, Yin=In,* in Japanese.

nity. Herein may be noticed a resemblance between the doctrine of Logos, as expressed in Alexandrian philosophy, and the doctrine of Tao as expressed in the Chinese classics.

The same fundamental philosophy underlies both Taoism and Confucianism; but the declared Taoist went to extremes in fantastic speculation and developed many superstitions. Confucius was sane, wise and above all things practical. He was inferior to none in his earnest teaching of Tao, the Way of heaven and of man, but he refrained from speculation; and all Confucian scholars, of whatever school, lay the chief emphasis upon the ethical idea as over against the speculative Taoists. It is this Confucian interpretation of Tao which became influential in Japan.

"What Heaven has decreed is called the nature of things; harmony with that nature is called the Way." "Sincerity is the Way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the Way of man. He who possesses sincerity is he who without effort does what is right, and apprehends without the exercise of thought: he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the Way. He who attains sincerity is he who chooses what is right and

firmly holds it fast," [1] said Confucius. Mencius, his great expositor, declared: "Therefore sincerity is the Way of Heaven. To meditate upon sincerity is the Way of man. There is no man unmoved by sincerity, no man moved by insincerity." "The Way is like a great road; it is not difficult to know. The trouble is only that man will not seek it. Do but go home, and seek it; you shall have an abundance of teachers." "The Way is found near at hand; but man seeks it at a distance. Things are easily found; but man seeks them in difficult places. If man would love his parents as parents, and respect his elders as elders, the world would be at peace."

According to both great teachers, Tao is the principle of true life in man, the essence of all virtues. Without Tao, man is not greatly superior to the animals. Astray from Tao he is in darkness. It is near at hand and should not be sought afar. Within oneself it may be found, if one be sincere and earnest in the search therefor. But to gain a clear conception of Tao from Confucius is extremely difficult, if not impossible. In fact he never formulated nor systematized

[1] The Doctrine of the Mean.

his teaching. He once said to his disciple Tsang, "My doctrine is that of all-pervading unity," evidently meaning thereby that one principle pervaded all his teaching; yet, then as now, that principle was hard to grasp, much harder to express in cold words. When the great master had left the room, another disciple is said to have asked the meaning of his words. Tsang replied, "The way of our master teaches us to be benevolent to others,—this and nothing more." Indeed, upon one occasion, Confucius himself said, "Benevolence is not far from the Way;" but yet again he praised the virtue of "the mean" as the highest of all. Again "propriety" is set forth as the cardinal virtue, the fundamental principle of morality; and *jin* or love is above all declared the greatest of virtues. When asked as to the meaning of *jin*, he replied—"It is love to man." This indeed is near to benevolence,—well-willing. "Do not thou to others what thou wouldst not have them do to you," he told another disciple; but never, apparently, did he identify the Way with any one of these virtues or principles as sufficiently all-inclusive. He would seem rather to have made it greater than them all.

From the time of Confucius even until today, commentators have differed widely in their interpretation of the great and mysterious Way. As applied to practical ethics Tao is no other than "that which men should practice in their daily life of human intercourse," in other words a code of inter-human conduct. According to Confucian teaching, there are five relations in life. They are those of ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend. The sum of human virtues is also five: love or humanity, justice or righteousness, propriety, knowledge or understanding, and faith or truthfulness. As a supposed aid to the attainment of the perfect morality therein set forth, innumerable rules have been formulated until it is said, "there are three hundred rules of behavior and three thousand rules of demeanor." Thus the followers of Shushi, through their emphasis upon observances, failed to penetrate deeply into the vital nature of the Way and fell into formal pharisaism. "He reads the Analects but he does not know them" is a proverbial characterization of those scholars who fail to grasp the essence of the Confucian Way.

On the other hand, Ito-Jinsai, a defender of what may be termed classical interpretation, declared that "the sages understood the universe to be a living thing, but the heretics have made it a corpse. What is Michi but love and justice? Love and justice in the Way of man may be compared to *in* and *yo* in the Way of Heaven. Love includes justice as *yo* unites with *in*. Without love and justice how could the Way exist? Love is the principle, justice its associate." Muro-Kiuso also regarded love or *jin* as the cardinal virtue, the essence of the Way, and said: "A man with love in his heart is like a man with energy. The energy of a man appears in his pulse, but the energy of his heart appears in his love. Just as a man dies if his pulse stops, so too the heart dies if the principle of love perishes. Therefore love may be called the life of the heart."

Furthermore, Nakae-Toju, the representative of the Yomei school in Japan, identified Michi (Tao) with the truth which is to be gained through knowledge of one's self, that "comes to us not from the world around us and not from books, but from our own souls." Yomei was a Chinese protestant against the scholasticism which had taken to itself

the function of officially interpreting Confucianism. Nakae-Toju was in Japan a protestant of the protestants. "He was born in 1603 in a farmer's home, but brought up under the care of his grandfather, an attendant of Lord Kato, in a province of Shikoku. His ambition appears to have been fixed at the age of seven by reading from the Great Learning of Confucius the declaration that 'from the emperor to the commoner man's chief aim should be the right ordering of life.' As a youth in the service of a feudal lord of that period, his time was largely employed in military exercises, and his study was of necessity by stealth. After the death of his grandfather and father, he continued in the service of Lord Kato, though often asking for release that he might return to the care of his now lonely mother. At the age of twenty-seven, he felt it his duty to break from his service; and the remaining fifteen years of his life were contributed to education.

"His writings, now collected and edited, form ten volumes of commentaries, lectures, essays and poems. The commentaries are the most important of these; but his freedom in handling the classics shows him to have been not only in-

dependent of the recognized philosophy of his own time but also a heretic in his own school. Says he: 'The truth is distinct from the law. The law changes with time, even with saints in their own land,—much more when transplanted to our land. But the truth is from eternity. Before the name of virtue was, the truth was and prevailed. Before man was, space had it; and after he shall have disappeared, and heaven and earth have returned to nothingness, it will abide. But the law was made to meet the needs of time. When time and place change, even saints' laws, if forced upon the world, are injurious to the cause of the truth.'" [1]

Nakae's idealistic monism led him to appreciate the essential equality and brotherhood of all men. "All things in the world come from one root," he says in a letter to a student, "and so all men in the four seas who are, so to speak, its branches, must be brothers one of another." He unified the human conscience with that of the Ultimate, and there rested his ethical teaching. "The very essence of truth is the knowledge that I am one

[1] Kanzo Uchimura, "Representative Men of Japan," pp. 170–171.

with the universe and the gods. Clearly perceiving this truth and acting in accordance with it, is obedience to the Way. Such obedience is like the great sea, and the various relations to our fellows are like vessels with which we dip out the water; big or small, round or square, so the water shapes itself; but it is all alike the water of the great sea. This Way dwells in the universe as the spirit dwells in man. It has neither beginning nor end. There is neither time nor being without it, and man is its image. For him the Way is the pivot of his existence. The learning of the sages indeed may bring this intuitive knowledge into consciousness, but their intuitions after all are not other than our own." [1]

Thus we see, even after the long influence of Chinese thought, a return, however unconscious, to that interpretation of Michi which is more in accord with the early naïve conceptions and which we may, therefore, regard as more truly natural to the Japanese mind.

The distinction between man-made law (*nomos*) and the eternally existing truth (*logos*) is kept; and

[1] G. W. Knox, "The Development of Religion in Japan," pp. 183, 184.

yet Michi, under whatever name of order, principle, or way, is universal and absolute, while also finding embodiment and expression within the individual man. No single creed or nation can monopolize it. Michi transcends race and boundary, creed and school, none of which is comprehensive enough to include it all. It is the universal and absolute principle of humanity, the everlasting truth only gradually to be revealed as mankind marches up the path of progress. A Shinto writer, protesting against a narrow Confucianism, says: "The teaching of the sages is to teach man to become a good man, not to become a Chinese." Kumazawa-Banzan declared: "The Way is the Way of heaven and earth. The Way of the sages of China and the Way of the gods and men of Japan, are alike the Way of the God of heaven and of earth." And again: "The Way of the God of heaven is one. To name it Confucian, Buddhist or Taoist and introduce those names to a foreign land is the work of those who themselves know not the Way." For the Japanese, the idea of Michi, innate in their nature, further intensified and given content by Confucian teaching, forms a fundamental element of ethico-

religious consciousness. That idea defies exact analysis, but from its universal appeal it may be understood. "From heart to heart" Michi is to be passed, more a matter of intuition than of reason, holy common sense, the essence of humanity in relation.

The Imperial Rescript on Education, issued by the Emperor Meiji on the 30th of October, 1890, is declared to be the basis of all necessary moral instruction given in the schools of the Empire. It says in part: "Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of

your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue."

This rescript is read in all schools, both public and private, upon occasions of state, and sets forth *kono Michi*, the Way, as "the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places." This claim of the Rescript escapes the charge of presumption only upon an appreciation of that Michi to which we have been directing our attention. This august, most influential utterance of a modern sovereign to his people upon the subject of personal conduct still holds up as the ideal for this and for all generations in Japan and in all lands, the Way, known unto the Fathers and increasingly known through the experience of their children.

The Hebrew word *derekh* means a trodden

way, a path and also a journey taken upon that way. It is the word used repeatedly to signify the course of the Lord which is holy and which his children as well are expected to tread.

> Shew me Thy ways, O Lord;
> Teach me Thy paths.
> (Psalm 25:4)
> The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous.
> (Psalm 1:6)

This and other words of similar meaning so often used in the Psalter point to something ever mysterious but very dear and precious in the life of God and in the lives of the righteous as a binding link of union. These words are not formal, the language of Covenant Codes, but the undefined expression of vital testimony to the consciousness of those who walked in the way of the Lord. That consciousness and the evidence that it bore to the essential reality of God and man and their relations antedated by far the formulation of law-givers and touched far deeper springs of vital communion with deity undefined.

According to M. Lazarus, "the moral law does not exist by virtue of a divine act or an authoritative fiat; it flows from the essence of God's

being, from His absolute and infinite moral nature. . . . Moral law is based, not upon some dogmatic conception of God, but upon the idea of His morality, that is, upon the essential nature of morality. Not God the master, but God the ideal of all morality is the fountain-head of man's moral doctrine." [1] The God of the Hebrew race was supremely a righteous God; and the element of righteousness in the Hebrew religion was conspicuous in contrast with the lax ideals evidenced in the faith of surrounding peoples. Yet the ethical ideals, more and more clearly recognized by their prophets and perfected in the Ideal of Christianity, are all of universal character, having their origin in that of divinity, which is the common birthright of man. Morality springs from man's own nature, in its relationship to God.

When, under the inspiration of a living Saviour, the disciples of Jesus began to gather unto themselves those who would follow the Great Teacher of life, the faith in Him which they all professed was called "the way." "A more excellent way," "a new and living way," "the way of truth" designated the way of Jesus who called Himself

[1] M. Lazarus, "The Ethics of Judaism," Tr. by H. Szold, p. 112.

"the Way, the Truth, and the Life." Twenty centuries have passed; and the way of the Galilean has been trodden by the purest, the most aspiring, the most devoted of mankind. That way has been experienced, it has been lived, it is being lived by millions in every grade of human society; yet of them all not one has been able to express, in terms that exactly define, the way as it lies within, and behind, and before another soul. Christendom today is as far as ever from a satisfactory definition of that which Jesus Himself never ventured to define except in terms of the personal, in terms of His own individual life. And yet the reality of that way and the universal nature of it, for all men, has never before been so fully recognized.

As one studies the religious and ethical ideas of the far East, it becomes increasingly evident that the Oriental mind is indeed intuitive, mystical and poetic rather than strictly rational, scientific and practical. This from the outset occasions a difficulty to Western minds more familiar with scientific analysis and demanding more exact formulation of rational thought, a difficulty because of which the most cherished and vital pos-

sessions of the Oriental soul appear often but a confused mass of groundless speculations and goalless imaginings. Certain scholars are disposed to make light of that which does not submit to analysis or allow of expression in scientific terms, failing thus to grasp its real, though elusive, content. Yet the unrationalized protoplasm of psychic life is coming to be recognized as the matrix of the greatest influences, the most far-reaching forces of soul control, exercising a power in the lives of the people far greater than that of any conceptions which are clearly defined and easily grasped by the intellect.

This indefinable idea of a way, as expressed in the ethico-religious conceptions of the Japanese, partakes very intimately of the nature of man, and may be termed the principle of humanity or that in virtue of which man is man and akin to the divine. The belief in Heaven and its corollary, Michi, however vague, has had great and lasting influence upon the moral character of the Japanese. It has inspired men and women with high ideals of life. It has consoled them in distress and trial. Consciousness of harmony with the great law of human being has given courage and

happiness in misfortune and danger such as one apart from the Michi could not presume to possess. The annals of Japan's history are bright with the stories of those who gladly gave their lives for their country or who sacrificed themselves even in a mistaken cause, acting upon faith in Heaven and its will for man.

> "In the dark and dreary prison,
> Where no step of love is heard,
> Comfort brings the Way that
> Ever was and is the living word."

Thus sang the greatest of the Restoration leaders, Yoshida-Shoin, from his prison chamber, bearing witness to the faith which in Japan as over all the world has sustained the noble of soul.

This same faith has given the people of Japan a spirit of magnanimity. Surgeon-General Ishiguro, in an article upon the Red Cross in Japan, declared: "It is not a mere accident that the people of Japan have of late years devoted so much attention to the development of the philanthropic work of the Red Cross Convention of Geneva; it is rather attributable to a love of mercy deeply rooted in the hearts of all true Japanese, and transmitted from their forefathers

through many a generation; a spirit which has ever led them, during the twenty centuries of the existence of the Japanese Empire, to endeavor to mitigate the unavoidable miseries of war by acts of benevolence and generosity." [1] Otherwise dark and bloody pages of history record many beautiful instances that well illustrate this national characteristic. Kusunoki-Masashige, the greatest imperialist of the fourteenth century, is said on many an occasion to have treated his captives with great kindness and to have set them free with gifts of clothing. In the sixteenth century, at the time of the Korean expedition under Hideyoshi, Lord Shimazu set up a monument still to be seen on Mount Koya with this inscription: "To the memory of friends and foes who fell in the war." This gracious recognition of the enemy was but an earlier display of the same spirit which led the Japanese army during the late war to treat its prisoners so magnanimously and later to erect at Port Arthur a monument to the Russian dead beside the one dedicated to its own departed heroes.

[1] "The Red Cross in Japan" by Baron Ishiguro in "Fifty Years of New Japan," edited by Count Okuma.

This faith in Michi, the Way of humanity, makes of all men one family, and prepares its followers to receive the clearer revelation of its content as exemplified by Jesus and to realize its ideal more completely in a society of world peace. The unity of man is evidenced in the essential oneness of those ideas which underlie the ethical and religious systems of every people. Upon the pathway of those great ideas, approach to any people is easy; and through the consciousness of their own Michi they may be led to a higher and a nobler interpretation. It has been so in Japan. Michi was the way of entrance whereby Christian missionaries first successfully preached the Gospel of Jesus, the Way. When Christianity was first introduced by Protestant teachers, it was called "the True Way;" and one of the most influential tracts used by the missionaries in the early years was one entitled "The Short Way to Know the True Way."

Our Lord called Himself the "Way," the Michi; and I believe that He, who left not Himself without a witness among any people, gave to the Japanese the Way for their guidance, and marked out the path for the sages of the Middle King-

dom; for the Light that lighteth every man coming into the world was none other than He who declared, "I came not to destroy but to fulfill."

IV

SATORI: THE LAW OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Satori, as written in the Chinese ideograph, signifies *ego* placed upon the right side of *mind:* the conscious recognition of one's self, the reflective discovery of the ego. To the Japanese, Satori means an awakening to the full consciousness of the real condition of things.[1] One who has secured it shall be blessed. Being subjective, it varies according to circumstances. The following are among the typical experiences commonly called Satori: (1) *Tongo:* an instantaneous enlightenment, in which as if struck by lightning, one beholds a light, comes to one's self, understands the cause, and sees the inevitability of the circumstance. Satori thus gives acquiescence and resignation, peace and tranquillity. (2) *Kwai-go* is repentance. Conscience-stricken by a vision of

[1] The English equivalents for Satori are enlightenment, understanding, illumination, intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, discernment, and secondarily, conviction and resignation.

his own error, the enlightened one regains his normal poise. (3) *Kakugo* is resolution. Fully conscious of the circumstances, understanding the inevitable effect of the past and present the man of *kakugo* faces destiny "burning his bridges behind him." This possession is highly valued by men and women of the Bushi spirit. (4) *Goniu* is insight: penetration by enlightenment or spiritual understanding into hidden secrets. Not satisfied with apparent or superficial explanations, one possessing *goniu* looks into the inner reality of religion or whatever he may have before his mind. To become master of any subject *goniu* is a necessity. Not infrequently one cannot explain or describe what the experience may be but he is sure of a light or knowledge perfectly clear to his own mind. He has truly attained Satori.

Satori is not necessarily a religious experience, nor need a religious person be of necessity a man of true enlightenment; but to the Japanese, Satori is commonly associated with Buddhism, for it was the faith of Buddha which more than any other religion or philosophy pointed out to the Japanese *enlightenment* as the highest, the ideal state, for man.

In the sixth century of the Christian era Buddhism opened to the people of the Island Empire a new intellectual and emotional world. The advanced civilization of the Continent laden with its speculative philosophies, voluminous literatures, gorgeous rituals and refined arts, was nothing less than a revelation to a people whose world view was limited and whose religious ideas were anything but profound.

It was, however, not an easy task to plant a new religion in an alien soil. Many a century saw the ebb and flow of the new religious movement, and still more centuries passed before the faith found assimilation within the character of the people. The philosophic aspect of the Hindu religion had much less influence than the practical benefits that came with it. Its complicated metaphysics seems to have awakened very little interest in the Japanese mind. Nevertheless no one can deny the far-reaching influence of Buddhism upon the national character of the people. Japan owes to Buddhism a profound ideal of life and a habit of more serious introspection that led to a deeper insight into humanity at large.

Apparently, Buddhism is a religion of contra-

diction. It is most philosophical, highly speculative, but grossly confused. Sects and divisions are innumerable. The objects of worship and the doctrines concerning them are absolutely beyond the comprehension of an ordinary mind. Intellectually the Law of Buddha is a mysterious idealism; practically it is a mass of idolatry.

There are, however, certain outstanding conceptions or ideas which well represent the religion as a whole: and of these outstanding conceptions that of Satori, or enlightenment, is beyond all others conspicuous. It alone best conveys to the Japanese mind the religious ideal of the religion which bears the name of Gautama Buddha. The Hindu word for Satori is *Bhodi*, that is "the knowledge or intelligence by which one becomes a Buddha or a believer in Buddhism." [1] Spiritual enlightenment by the dispersion of ignorance, or a perfect understanding of the truth by liberation from false and erroneous ideas, may be said to be the final goal of Buddhist teaching. "The first object of Buddhism," writes the author of "The Outline of Every Sect of Buddhism," is to give us who are astray the Satori so that we may attain the

[1] "Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary," by E. J. Eitel.

infinite and absolute reason." [1] "The fundamental idea of Buddhism," says a renowned Buddhist abbot, "is to disperse the clouds of ignorance in order to make the moon of enlightenment shine out in her glory. . . . By spiritual enlightenment I mean a man's becoming conscious through personal experience of the ultimate nature of his inner being. This insight breaks as it were the wall of intellectual limitation and brings us to a region which has been hitherto concealed from our view." [2]

To further illustrate the point, let me cite a parable from one of the ancient Buddhist writings: There lived in India at one time five friendly kings who visited each other. Once they met together for a week; and on the last day when each was to start for his own country, the one who had invited the others asked each what he most desired in life. The first king answered: "I love to enjoy nature in the spring time when the flowers are blossoming." The second answered and said: "I desire to reign for a long time, having richly adorned saddles and gowns; to live in

[1] T. Kuruma, "The Outline of Every Sect of Buddhism," p. 73.
[2] Shaku Soyen, "Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot," pp. 126, 132.

castles and palaces, being surrounded by officers and people, to go out and come in with the beating of drums loud and high." The third replied, "I desire life, possessing the most beautiful wife and good children." The fourth said: "I desire long life at home in luxury with aged parents, my brothers, wife and children." Then the four kings said to the host: "We have told you what we desire. Tell us now what you most long for." The host replied: "Four kings! What each of you desires is not lasting enjoyment. I prefer that which is neither born, nor suffers death or pain, that which is not afflicted, neither feels cold or heat." Then the four kings cried: "Where is the teacher who can give that which you desire?" "He who lives at Gion Shoja, even Buddha." And the five kings went together to learn from the great teacher who preached for them the doctrine of enlightenment.[1]

There are two great branches of Buddhism. One is the Mahayana or Great Vehicle doctrine, the other the Hinayana or Small Vehicle doctrine. They are sometimes called from their geographical prevalence the Northern and the Southern

[1] Roughly translated from "Go-o-Kyo" in Japanese text.

branches. With the exception of two small sects, now extinct, all Japanese Buddhism, past and present, belongs to the Mahayana branch. Mahayanists claim their teaching to be later but more developed and more philosophical, therefore the more comprehensive of the two systems of Buddhist belief. "It is the Buddhism which, inspired by a progressive spirit, broadened its original scope, so far as it did not contradict the inner significance of the teaching of the Buddha, and which assimilated other religio-philosophical beliefs within itself, whenever it felt that, by so doing, people of more widely different characters and intellectual endowment could be saved." [1] One of the cardinal differences between Mahayana and Hinayana lies in the teaching and non-teaching of the ultimate principle of the universe. Mahayanists insist that "there must be something, be it Will or Intelligence, which, underlying and animating all existence, forms the basis of cosmic, ethical, and religious life." [2] This principle or being is called by Japanese Buddhists *Shinnyo* or Suchness (*Bhutathata*). The recognition of its

[1] D. T. Suzuki, "Outline of Mahayana Buddhism," p. 10.
[2] Idem, p. 91.

presence, reflected in mind, clear of illusions, prejudices, and egoistic assumptions, constitutes the enlightenment that leads to Nirvana, the eternal bliss.

The ways and means of attaining this final goal are different according to sects and sub-sects. But the Buddhist will say:

> "From varied sides the paths ascend,
> Many and far abreast,
> But when we gaze on the calm full-moon
> Single's the mountain's crest."

It may be added that the full moon, serene and calm, has been frequently associated with the idea of *Shinnyo*, "The moon of Shinnyo," *Shinnyo no tsuki* being a popular expression.

Though the struggle for enlightenment, an ideal common to all sects of Buddhism, has worked powerfully for Japanese culture and refinement, its influence has been negative as well as positive. The negative or repressive influence has been most marked upon the emotional nature of the people. By nature the Japanese are cheerful and optimistic. Pre-Buddhistic literature gives no hint of gloom or depression but rather portrays the temper of the people as buoyant and hopeful.

It has been said that "Japan optimised Buddhism;" but we cannot fail to notice the extreme pessimistic tendency in Japanese literature, especially in that of the Nara and Heian periods when that religion flourished. It was greatly feared lest its weakening influence might destroy the stoic and chivalric temper of the people. To refinement and culture, however, it gave a benign and wholesome influence, counterbalancing the frivolous and rather flippant tendency of the time.

Buddhism revealed to the Japanese a more serious view of life. It taught the impermanence of all things, *sho-gyo-mujo*, a most common Buddhist phrase signifying that constant change is the order of the world; that nothing exists which endures. The seasons come and go. The sun rises and sets. Man is born and dies. The tree grows but not forever. All wealth and splendor are of but short duration. "For what is your life? It is even a vapor, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away." [1] A Japanese might easily believe the verse to be an extract from a Buddhist sutra. So with the following: "Vanity of vanities," saith the Preacher,

[1] James 4:14.

"vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labor which he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh." [1] A verse of real Buddhist writing runs:

"Water flows, but never to fullness,
Fire burns with vigor, but dieth again;
Suns rise now and soon they are setting,
Waxeth moons to fullness but only to wane,
The honored, the wealthy, the prospered, and noble,
They, than them all, more surely shall fail." [2]

Or to quote another most familiar poem:

"Fragrant flowers are very sweet,
But one day they will fade away.
Who can say 'This world's unchanging?'
Crossing o'er the Mount of Change today
We shall find no dreaming, or illusion,
but Enlightenment." [3]

Through Buddhism people were taught that satisfaction should not be sought in the externals of the world; that peace may not be found amidst the constant changes of life. The sense of life's

[1] Ecclesiastes 1:2-4.

[2] *Zaigo-ho-o-kyo.*

[3] A poem by Kobo composed of the forty-eight letters of the Japanese *kana* or syllabary, quoted from E. A. Gordon's "Messiah, the Ancestral Hope of the Ages," p. 3.

fleeting hollowness was most intensely impressed. A verse or two from old poems selected at random from the "One Hundred Stanzas" as translated by W. N. Porter may suffice to show the trend of feeling induced by Buddhism.

"From pain and sorrow all around
There's no escape, I fear;
To mountain wilds should I retreat,
There also I should hear
The cry of hunted deer." [1]

"This night the cheerless autumn moon
Doth all my mind enthrall;
But others also have their griefs,
For autumn on us all
Hath cast her gloomy pall." [2]

From the despair of life it was natural that man should aspire after something abiding, some reality. Buddhism taught as follows: "Riches are a temporary jewel, and pass away with death; but wisdom is an eternal treasure and accompanies us even after the end of life." "In opulence forget not poverty, for you may be rich first and

[1] The author, Toshinari, a celebrated poet and nobleman in the twelfth century, was the father of the writers of verse.

[2] The author, Oye-Chisato, who lived about the end of the ninth century, was famous as a philosopher, and acted as tutor to the Emperor Seiwa.

poor at last; and in high rank keep in mind the low and simple situation, for you may be first high and at the end low in rank."

Not only its teaching but the general atmosphere that surrounds Buddhism never ceases to remind the Japanese of the reality and unreality of life. Of this one cannot but be impressed as, at the twilight hour, he stands amid the shadows and listens to the deep, far-booming bell that reverberates from some hillside temple tower, penetrating every byway and humble home throughout the village with its minor cadence, subduing all and winning to a melancholy peace that is not of earth.

When Buddhism was flourishing in the Nara and succeeding periods, several emperors abdicated the throne in order to enter Buddhist orders. Religious Sovereign was the title of the emperors who thus resigned their crowns. Princes, noblemen and women without number entered monastic life. It led to the institution of *inkyo* or retiring from active life by men not more than forty or fifty years of age, who threw the cares of the household upon their sons and devoted themselves to writing poetry or to arts supposedly

appropriate to old age. The fashion was quite in vogue even up to a generation ago.

In the dark ages, amid the cries of battle many a warrior wearied of sorrow and pain, sick of vainglory and splendor, entered the monastic life of contemplation and resignation. Noted among them was Saigyo (died 1190), who left the warrior's life to devote himself to wandering pilgrimages and the composition of poetry. Kumagai-Naozane's story of resignation is most romantic. In a battle between Heike and Genji, in 1184 A. D. the historian tells us, Kumagai fought and, much against his will, killed a young squire of the enemy, who reminded him of his son about the same age. Deeply touched by the inhumanity of war, he abandoned the life of a warrior, and became a disciple of Honen, then a renowned priest in Kurodani, Kyoto. Saigio and Kumagai are types of samurai who attained Satori. It is not without reason that many feared lest Buddhism should destroy the manly character of the Japanese and make their nature thoroughly effeminate. Thus Buddhism taught the Japanese to regard worldly glory as a passing dream and led many to realize the foolish-

ness of seeking first those things which were transitory and unreal. Some, though few indeed, understood its deeper meaning and sought for that which though unseen, was eternal: but the great majority, comprehending only the negative truth, became deeply pessimistic. Human life itself, as well as things of nature, was deemed subject to uncertainty and change, even the next moment being shrouded beyond our ken. Indeed, according to an old saying, "It is all darkness even an inch ahead." Life itself was a light before the wind. This feeling of uncertainty and weakness aroused sympathy for others, and a forgiving spirit which embraced the trees and the grass of the field in its brotherhood.

"The morning-glory round the well-rope clings,—
I seek my water from the distant springs."

This expresses, in an original of seventeen syllables, the tenderness which would not disturb the climbing flower upon the bucket at the open well. The following has the same sentiment:

"Why tie a prancing pony
To a cherry-tree in flower?
At every leap the petals
Are scattered like a shower."

A recognition of reality, though that reality lead to pessimism,—and the resultant sense of uniting pity was, again, enlightenment.

The consciousness of the vanity of the world naturally moved men to search for reality. Some, unsubdued in pessimism, responded to the impulse; and to them Buddhism taught a supra-phenomenal world as the object of man's chief concern. Although, as has been said, the philosophic aspects of Buddhism were less powerfully influential than its practical benefits, the dominant principles of the faith were strong, especially as for centuries national education was controlled by the Buddhist priesthood. Emotional and intellectual elements found expression in literature as is evidenced not by moral and religious writings alone or chiefly, but by poems, novels, dramas and operatic libretto, as in the classical *No* dances. From Buddhism Japan gained a conception of the universe, at once broader, more inclusive, and far more complex than that depicted in her naïve, polytheistic belief; and herein originated her present pantheistic tendency, marked in the minds of the common people as well as of scholars throughout

the Empire. The vision of this all-inclusive unity was a form of Satori, of enlightenment.

Cause and effect, real or supposed, expressed under the conception of absolute justice, was represented by Buddhism as governing without exception every event of the world,—the entire succession of all human experience, binding event to event and age to age in an unbroken and unbreakable unity. The understanding of this reality, changeless amid all the change over which it presided, and acquiescence therein was enlightenment. Such enlightenment relieved men from needless worry and fruitless anxiety, and developed that spirit of resignation to what is thought inevitable, which, distinct from gross fatalism, is so characteristic of the Japanese people.

The stoic culture generally possessed by samurai also owed not a little to Buddhism. Neither to be discouraged by difficulties, nor to be moved by the opinions and criticisms of others, but to stand aside and go one's own way was a characteristic of their culture; and it was through the same influence that they gained a refined temper unmoved by ideas of gain or worldly honor.

The practice of *zazen* (*dhyana*), or to sit and meditate helped to the attainment of a calm and serene character. This practice, like the Hindoo *yoga*, consists in quiet contemplation. It is for the intellectual and generally for monks or men of leisure. It is a practice for spiritual culture. "Sit straight and motionless, never inclining to the left hand, nor to the right, never bowing forward nor turning backward. The ears should be in the same plane with the shoulders, and nose and navel in the same straight line. The tongue should stick to the upper jaw, while lip meets with lip and teeth with teeth. Open the eyes not too widely yet not too slightly, and keep breathing through the nose. After composing mind and body in this way, you may take a long, deep breath. Thus sitting motionless you may think of not-thinking. Can you think of not-thinking? That is thinking of nothing. This is the most important art of *Zazen*. This is far indeed from acquiring *Dhyana*. But it is the only way to great calm joy. This is unpolluted practice and this is an enlightenment." [1]

[1] "The Method of Practicing *Zazen*" by K. Nukariya, in "Principles of Practice and Enlightenment of the Soto Sect," p. 22.

From the Satori of Buddhism thus came Japan's aspiration for ultimate reality behind the changing cause-governed phenomena of the world and that calm disposition so well-imaged in Daibutsu, the colossal bronze statue at Kamakura, which one has described as "a true symbol of the central idea of Buddhism, the spiritual peace which comes of perfected knowledge and the subjugation of all passions." Patience, declared by Kobo to be the great, all-embracing virtue, finds here its motive and justification. The Apostle James will find admirers of his life and writings among Buddhists probably more than among any other class of the people. "One who rubs two pieces of wood obtains the fire; one who digs the earth finds at last water;—and to him in such perseverance there is nothing unattainable,—all things to him are reasonable and possible."

Furthermore, Satori has given to the Japanese nation a democratic spirit and aided in its development. Present Buddhism is not very democratic; even the Shin sect, which in its first stage was radically democratic, is now quite aristocratic and inclined to depend on patronage. Yet original Buddhism is based on an extreme prin-

ciple of equality; and, if Buddhism were allowed to come to its logical conclusion, it would force one to regard everything and all things as on an equal footing. Neither money, rank, honor, nor any other thing in the world can differentiate one man from another. Even racial and national differences are not to be regarded. The universe is one; wealth and poverty are constantly changing; both snow and ice become the water of the same brook. In truth a brotherhood, having boundless possibilities, has foundations here laid upon which may be built an enduring social structure through Great Enlightenment.

V

SUKUI: THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION

SALVATION by faith is the great watchword of the Jodo and Shin sects, the popular forms of Buddhism in Japan. Salvation by works had been the belief of all sects of Buddhism until the twelfth century when a more popular form was established. The older Buddhism includes many shades of belief and theory; but its fundamental principle is salvation by one's own endeavor (*jiriki*). A Buddhist scholar has well expressed this: "It is not a heavenly star or a personal god that controls and governs our fate, but our own hands. It is neither a Buddha nor an evil spirit that causes us to live or die, makes us to rise or fall, but it is our own conscious will. Many there are who seek heavenly grace by praying to Kami, or who try to obtain peace of mind by trusting in a Buddha,—a folly of ignorance and misapprehension." [1] Every man, therefore, must be his own saviour. Only his own exertion or his own force of

[1] K. Nukariya, "Criticism of Zen," pp. 184.

character can free him from the life of misery and ignorance.

In regard to the doctrine of salvation, then, Buddhism may be divided into two divisions, the Holy Path and the Pure Land. The former is called *jiriki* or self-power Buddhism, for it teaches that salvation is dependent on one's own power. The salvation here is nothing other than the being delivered from delusion with regard to the attainment of spiritual enlightenment. A man, moreover, may enjoy the effect of deliverance in the present world. Pure Land Buddhism, on the other hand, proclaims salvation through another's power, and is accordingly called *tariki* or other-power Buddhism. The salvation it offers is in the Land of Bliss (*Sukhavati*) or Pure Land, which Amida promises to all who invoke His Name.

All the forms of Buddhism which flourished in Japan up to the twelfth century were those of the Holy Path. Naturally the Buddhism of the old days remained the religion of aristocrats not of commoners. In spite of efforts to preach the religion with every possible advantage bestowed by court nobles, the older *jiriki* Buddhism never be-

came popular. It furnished spiritual food for the intellectual and leisured classes; but it was not a gospel to the mass of the people.

After struggling for many centuries through countless vicissitudes Buddhism underwent an unique development in Japan, assuming a form somewhat different from the religion of the same name in other countries. It was other-power (tariki) Buddhism and appealed to the masses. This doctrine of salvation solely by faith in Amida Buddha was for the first time fully developed in Japan.

As early as the tenth century Kuya, a forerunner of Amidaism, proclaimed faith in Amida and propagated it by singing songs of salvation. But the real founder of the Jodo or Pure-Land sect was Honen who, in his forty-second year in 1145, finally attained a simple faith in salvation through Amida. He proclaimed salvation for all mankind not by meditation nor by ritual, nor even by the repetition of a Buddha's name with understanding of its meaning. "It is nothing but the repetition of the name of Buddha Amida with faith in his boundless mercy, whereby we may be born in the Happiest Land or Jodo or the Buddha."

The fundamental tenet of Honen's religion consisted of faith in the power of all-compassionate and almighty Amida, the Lord of the Pure Land. Amida, it is said, vowed that "perfect bliss He would not have till He knew that all who would invoke Him might be saved." This is called his primal vow. Every sentient being who calls earnestly upon his name, will enter that Land of Bliss, and there shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, good or bad, exalted or lowly; none shall fail to have Pure Life, after having called, with complete desire, on Amida. "Just as a great stone, if on a ship, may complete a voyage of myriads of miles over the waters, and yet not sink; so we, though our sins are heavy as giant boulders, are borne to the other shore by Amida's primal vow." [1]

Shinran, the Martin Luther of Buddhism, separated from the Jodo sect and established Jodo Shinshu (Jodo True Sect), commonly called Shinshu. He had first entered the Tendai sect, but being dissatisfied and disgusted with the doctrines and

[1] M. Anesaki, "Honen, the Pietist of Japanese Buddhism," in "Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions," Vol. i. pp. 124–125.

practices of the priests of that church, he eventually became a follower of Honen. But he went much further than his master in the application of the doctrine of salvation by faith. "The Buddhists of those temples," said Shinran, "are ignorant of their own doctrines, and cannot distinguish the true Gate of Salvation from the false one." While Honen and the Jodo sect regarded the repetition of Amida's name essential to salvation, Shinran and his followers went to the logical extreme of faith in Amida as the all in all. He forbade the worship of all Buddhas but Amida and denied the merit of any possible deed for the salvation of the believer, preaching absolute dependence in faith on the merit of that one Supreme Buddha.

Rennyo Shonin (1415–1499), one of his successors, summarised the doctrine as follows: "Rejecting all religious austerities and all other action, giving up all idea of self-power we rely upon Amida Buddha with the whole heart for our salvation in the future life, which is the most important thing; believing at the moment of putting our faith in Amida Buddha our salvation is settled. From that moment, invocation of his

name is observed as an expression of gratitude and thanksgiving for Buddha's mercy. Moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests whose teachings were so benevolent, and as welcome as light in a dark night, we must also keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life." [1]

For us unenlightened, a Buddhist would say, if we desire to be born into the Pure Land, it is necessary to have faith in the power of Another. If we desire to have faith in the power of Another, we must hear the Name of Him who uttered the Prayer (Amida). Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu, an expression of six written characters, is the prayer, the adoration and the creed of the Shin sect. Namu-Amida-Butsu, commonly abbreviated to Namu-Amida, is the Japanese form of the Sanskrit Namu Mitabhaya Budhaya, glory to Amida Buddha. Namu-Amida is the exclamation repeatedly used by believers in the course of the temple service, at any pause in the discourse of the priest and at its close. It is their constant cry

[1] Arthur Lloyd, "Development of Japanese Buddhism" in "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. xxii. p. 414.

in private devotion. As an utterance of thanksgiving, as an appeal for aid in danger, it is of all expressions the most common to the faithful adherents of the Amidaic sects.

The question may present itself who Amida Buddha may be. Neither Honen nor Shinran is the founder of Amidaism. Shinran says: "I do not preach a new doctrine. I believe and preach the religion of Buddha. I believe in the salvation of Amida won by praying, because good men taught me so." Among those good men he specially mentions seven great personages, namely Nagarjuna and Vasubandhu (two Hindus), Tanluan, Taoch'o and Shantao (three Chinese of the sixth and seventh centuries, A. D.), and Genshin and Honen. There are three sacred sutras held by the Pure Buddhists as their canon. Two of these sutras exist in Sanskrit and Chinese, the third only in Chinese. All scholars agree in assigning these sutras which embody the doctrine concerning Amida to dates not earlier than five hundred years after the death of Shaka. The extreme Buddhist claim would be that such teaching was in germ in the teaching of Shakamuni and had been developed from that germ in later times.

The first mention we have of Amida and the sutra is in that famous "Awakening of Faith" by Asvagosha in the first century of the Christian era.

The first of the sutras mentioned above gives the story of a certain king, Mushonen by name, who being filled with a desire for salvation both for himself and others, abandoned throne and kingdom, and became a priest under the name of Hozo. This man greatly excelled in wisdom and courage. Not content with an ordinary degree of excellence, he besought Sejizai (Sanskrit *Lokesvara*), Lord of the World, to teach him the way of becoming a buddha. Sejizai revealed to Hozo the nature and condition of the 21,000,000,000 heavens of the buddhas, and all the countries of men. When Hozo had seen the condition of all these buddhas, and had profoundly meditated upon them, he went into the presence of Sejizai and made forty-eight vows, which he promised to perform should he become a buddha. These vows include the primal vow already referred to, even the vow to save living beings, one and all, so that all who call upon his name may be born in the "Happy Land of the West" or Paradise. After Hozo made these vows, the earth quaked,

flowers rained from heaven, superhuman music was heard, and a voice was heard saying: "Thou shalt surely become a buddha." He is now Amida Buddha and dwells in the heaven of Perfect Peace, which is ten billion heavens to the west of us.

It is not an improbable hypothesis that the idea of Amida, the Boundless Light, was originally derived from the sun and that of the imaginary Land of Bliss from the splendors of the setting sun in the west. Thus Amida and Dainichi (*Vairocana*), the Great Illumined, the chief Buddha of the Shingon sect, may both trace their origin from the sun worship once popular in the land of Buddha.[1]

A singular and remarkable fact is that all consciousness of the history and person of Amida, as recorded in the sutra referred to, has been lost among believers. The process through ages of idealization and deification made Amida the greatest of all Buddhas, the Supreme Being in the universe, the Unoriginate, the Boundless in Power and in Love. Amida is without beginning and

[1] See the conclusion in "Essay on Paradise and Pure Land" by Prof. B. Matsumoto.

without end, all love, wisdom, benevolence, and power. He is the Father of all the world and of all sentient beings. A recent Buddhist writer even goes on to say that "Amida may also be called the Creator, inasmuch as he established the law of cause and effect through which the universe came into existence."

The simple and more practical doctrine of Amida has gradually taken such hold of the people that at present the Jodo and Shin sects, or Amidaism, practically claim three-quarters of all Buddhists in Japan. They are the most aggressive of Buddhists. This is especially true of the Shin sect which is rapidly introducing many Western methods of evangelistic activity, such as Sunday-schools, summer schools, young men's associations, women's societies, street preaching and the like. They have also commissioned several foreign missionaries to China, America and other countries.

Instead of going into the history of the development of Amidaism for several centuries, let us glance at the latest phase of the evolution of this faith. A few sentences from the personal confession of faith by the late M. Kiyozawa,

a graduate of the Tokyo Imperial University, much esteemed and beloved by a large number of young Buddhists, may be sufficiently illuminating. According to Kiyozawa, his belief in Amida or Nyorai was a matter of necessity. He could not help believing. "What I call my faith" he says, "is belief in Nyorai, the Reality in which I not only can believe, but also cannot help believing.[1] The very reality which enables me to be myself, a self having no capacity for independence and whose own power is impotence, is Nyorai, in whom I believe." He further says: "My belief in Nyorai was attained upon the rock-bed of my intellectual study. I do not need to speak of the time when I was not thinking seriously about human life; but, since I began to be serious, I could not help studying the meaning of human life. By that study I reached at last the point where I saw that human life could not be understood. There I came to believe in Nyorai." [2]

What the effect of such a faith may be, can be

[1] He calls Amida by the name *Nyorai* signifying "the one who is coming."

[2] Translation from "The Faith of Kiyozawa" by S. Akegarasu.

judged from the following statement by the same author, in whose sincerity I have no doubt. "What is meant by my believing? Why should I believe? Because it is the saving power of faith which takes away my trouble and suffering. When I believe, instantly I find happiness and peace, no matter how much I am suffering from various trials or troubled by circumstances."

The following words, taken almost verbatim from the lips of an intelligent but uneducated old woman, depict the faith as experienced by less philosophical adherents.[1] "I am old and I am a woman, and it is not to be expected that a woman will know much of such subjects, but I will tell you what thoughts I have. I am weak and sinful, and have no hope in myself; my hope is all in Amida Buddha. I believe him to be the Supreme Being. Because of the wickedness of man, and because of human sorrow, Amida Buddha became incarnate and came to the earth to deliver man; and my hope and the world's hope is to be found only in his suffering love. He has entered humanity to save it; and he alone can save.

[1] A letter by Dr. A. H. Bradford, quoting these words in "The Outlook," May, 1896.

He constantly watches over and helps all who trust in him. I am not in a hurry to die, but I am ready when my time comes; and I trust that through the gracious love of Amida Buddha I shall then enter into the future life which I believe to be a state of conscious existence, and where I shall be free from sorrow. I believe that he hears prayers, and that he has guided me thus far, and my hope is only in his suffering love."

This old woman, now over eighty years of age, is personally known to the author. Her son, a successful business man, is a Christian; and the question comes naturally to mind concerning the influence of Christian thought upon the mystic side of her faith in Amida. Some such influence there may have been. The reference to Amida Buddha's suffering love is worthy of special note. Here is a genuine idea of atonement. Though the conception of sacrifice for redemption from sin is almost entirely absent elsewhere from the Japanese mind, it clearly appears in connection with Amida. Amida Buddha, in his primal vow to save every sentient being in the universe and in his great suffering for the fulfilling of that vow, appears as

a redeemer, the first to be an object of Japanese faith.

This doctrine of salvation through faith in Amida approaches the teaching of St. Paul: "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ and not by the works of the law: because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." (Gal. 2:16)

The conception of salvation in Buddhism is not the same as in Christianity. It is deliverance from the miserable world or, in other words, escape from the miserable stages of transmigration. Buddhism teaches that all things, both abstract and concrete, are produced and destroyed by certain causes and combinations of circumstances, and that the state of a man's present life had its cause in the deeds of his previous existences, and that his present acts will unite with all the past to determine the state of his future existence. All men and other sentient beings have an interminable existence, dying in one form and being reborn in another, so that, if men wish to escape from a miserable state of transmigration, they

must cut off the causes, which are all passions, including even the passion for distinct personal existence. Believers in the doctrine of the Shin sect rely absolutely upon the power of Amida to escape from this miserable world and to enter paradise in the next life. Shin-shu forbids all prayers for happiness in the present life to any of the buddhas, even to Amida Buddha, because the events of the present life cannot be altered by the power of others.

Japanese Buddhism ceases to be atheistic. A personal saviour is found in the person of Amida, called Amitabha, Buddha or Tataghata (*Nyorai*). It is extremely difficult to define his exact nature, but if we translate it into Christian terminology Amida occupies the place of God the Father and of the Saviour in one person. In answer to the question concerning the relation and indebtedness of Buddhism to Christianity, the late Prof. Lloyd tried to find Christian influence in the Buddhist doctrine of Amida. He says: "It would seem impossible to deny the possibility of Christian and especially Gnostic influence in their production. If we consider that the Amida sects, as distinct bodies, did not make their appearance on the

scene until after Nestorians and Buddhists had been working together side by side for a few centuries in China, we may again suppose that there has been an influencing of Buddhist thought by Christian ideas." [1]

The subject appears one of the most interesting and fascinating in comparative religion; and, judging from the writings of Professor Lloyd, influence appears to have been possible; but from external evidence the materials at hand do not warrant saying more. It would seem nearer to the truth to say with another writer: "That some borrowing may not have taken place, it would be hard to say; but it seems more likely that the main resemblances alluded to are the outcome of parallel developments of thought rather than of actual borrowing. The last word, however, on the subject of parallelisms has not yet been written." [2]

There is one other form of Buddhism that has had a great influence upon the populace in Japan, namely, the Nichiren sect, founded in the thir-

[1] Arthur Lloyd, "Shinran and His Work," p. 4.

[2] J. Troup, "A Japanese Buddhist Sect which Teaches Salvation by Faith" in Hibbert Journal, Vol. iv, p. 293.

teenth century by the man whose name it bears. Nichiren is the most interesting figure in the whole history of Buddhism in Japan. At first a priest of the Shingon sect, greatly dissatisfied with the divers divisions and petty rivalries of many of the sects, and indignant at the laxity and worldliness of the priests and believers of all churches, he sought to find a firm foundation for his faith. As a result of fervent studies and fierce struggles, he at last came to the conclusion that "he was not to trust in human opinions, but in the sutras as left by the great teacher, and he was to decide all questions by them and them only." His conclusion was—Salvation through faith in the Book.

He was convinced, moreover, that the Saddharma Pundarika (Hokke Kyo or Myo Ho Renge Kyo) the Sutra of the Mysterious Lotus Law, contained the essence of the teaching of Shaka, or, to put it in his own words, "had in it the principle of all things, the truth of eternity and the secret importance of Buddha's original state and of the virtue of his enlightenment." He proclaimed that the one way provided for the attainment of buddhahood or enlightenment was to repeat the ascription to the wonderful sutra: *Namu*

myo ho renge kyo, Glory to the Sutra of the Mysterious Lotus Law. His combative attitude toward the other sects and his undaunted boldness in attacking the misconduct of men in authority brought him persecution, trials and exile, all of which only led him to deeper conviction and at last ended in his complete victory.

In contrast to the founders of the Jodo sects, Nichiren was a prophet and reformer. His famous treatise "On Bringing Peace and Righteousness to the Nation" denounced all the evils from which the land was suffering and traced their cause to the false doctrines prevailing among the people. It was a warning to the Japanese at the time when the country was under fear of Mongol invasion. The book is said to have been an incentive to prepare the nation for the ultimate defeat of the invaders. The salvation which Nichiren preached was not to be sought in the world to come, but to be realized in the present life.

The Nichiren sect numbers at present five thousand temples with four thousand priests and eight thousand teachers and from one and a half million to two million believers in Japan. Unlike

the Amida sects, the Nichiren is numbered with those emphasizing self-activity; yet it also illustrates the fact that in its most powerful and popular features Japanese Buddhism is altogether distinct from the Buddhism of Gautama, the first great founder. A student of comparative religion will find many lessons in a study of the development and transformation of Buddhism in Eastern Asia, especially in Japan. Buddhism as taught by Gautama was a religion of self-culture or enlightenment by the knowledge and practice of law. It does not recognize reality or the Supreme One as a personal being. The highest happiness for which man may strive is nirvana, "extinction of passion," nothingness. All these fundamental points of Buddhism have been displaced by the teachings of the sects of Buddhism which I have attempted to describe.

Professor Max Müller remarks on the doctrine of salvation by Amida: "Buddha taught that as a man soweth so shall he reap, and that by a stock of good works accumulated on earth the way is open to higher knowledge and higher bliss. This sutra of Shinshu and Jodo says 'No'. Not by good works done on earth, but by a mere repe-

tition of the name of Amida, is an entrance gained to the land of bliss. . . . It may be that in a lower stage of civilization even such teaching has produced some good. But Japan is surely ripe for better things. Is it not high time that the millions who live in Japan and profess a faith in Buddha should be told that this doctrine of Amitaba and all the Mahayana doctrine is a secondary form of Buddhism, a corruption of the pure doctrine of the Royal Prince, and that if they really mean to be Buddhists, they should return to the words of Buddha, as they are preserved to us in the other sutras?" [1]

Shaka taught a religion of self-help and self-culture in its baldest form. For him there is no God, no object of worship or of prayer. Prayer is to him a vain and useless act.

"Pray not! The darkness will not brighter be!
Nought ask the silence, for it cannot speak!
Nought from the helpless gods by gift and hymn,
Nor bribe with blood, nor feed with fruit and cakes;
Within yourselves deliverance must be sought."

The present state of Buddhism in Japan proves the error of this verse. Wherever the religion of

[1] Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," Vol. v, pp. 234-236.

Buddha spreads, his images are worshiped and prayers to him are daily offered. The doctrine of salvation by another's power has completely overcome the more hopeless creed. A belief in immortality and in a heaven of conscious happiness prevails among by far the majority of Buddhists in Japan.

To Buddhism Japan owes a great debt for certain elements of her faith which would scarcely have developed without its aid; but those germinal elements have taken on a form and coloring, a personal vitality not gained elsewhere. Important as are those elements of faith, they still lack the final necessary reality. Buddhism is incomplete in the god whom it presents as an object of worship. In place of the Supreme Being, spiritual and personal, Buddhism offers a reality of which nothing can be affirmed, or, at best, a Great Buddha among many. Buddhism is incomplete in the consciousness of sin which it awakens within the soul of man. Instead of the sense of having violated an eternal law of righteous love by personal antagonism, Buddhism deepens the consciousness of human misery by an unbreakable bond of suffering; and the salvation,

therefore, which Buddhism offers is deliverance from misery, not from the power of personal sin. In its idea of self-sacrifice, Buddhism affords an element of faith much more nearly allied to that of the Christian believer. In both the offering of self is for the sake of the multitude, the world-brotherhood; but in the one pity, often acquiescent and helpless, predominates, whereas in the other loyalty to a divine ideal finds expression in the obligation to active service.

A glance, such as we have taken, at the development of Buddhism in Japan, will convince readers that Buddhism has, through whatever influence, been gradually approaching some of the fundamental principles of the religion of redemption through faith in Jesus Christ. There is a growing tendency to emphasize rather than minimize the points of contact; and in those points of contact we may well rejoice.

> "Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be;
> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

VI

CHUGI: THE SPIRIT OF LOYALTY

CHUGI is the alpha and the omega of Bushido, the way of the samurai. It was considered the highest and greatest of all the virtues. Bushido was not a religion, even in the days of its greatest influence, having neither ritual nor object of worship. It always remained a spirit and a life; not the less, therefore, fostering in the samurai and through them in the whole nation elements of reverence and devotion which have become integral parts of the faith of Japan. That element of the Bushido ideal which made it thus take the place of a religion, was *Chugi*, loyalty, personal devotion, not to an idea or an ideal but to an individual, be he emperor or military superior.

Captain Brinkley, the author of "Japan; its History, Arts and Literature," says: "If religion be the source from which spring the motives of men's noblest actions, then the religion of Japan was neither the Law of the Buddha, nor the Path

of the Gods, but the Way of the Warrior. . . . Shinto was never more than a cult. . . . Buddhism helped to develop the soldiers' creed, but never played as large a part as the latter in shaping the nation's history." It was a spirit of life; and, like other spirits, no one can tell whence it came. It was a peculiar development of Japanese society, and contained moral and spiritual elements derived from several sources. Scholars claim that Bushido dates as early as the beginning of Japanese history. In one of the ancient writings, in metrical behests which were given by an imperial guard to his descendants, is found this spirit clearly expressed.

"If at sea he served,
To the waves his corpse,
If on shore he served,
To the moor his bones,
Would he gladly fling
For the Sovereign's sake.
You, his sons, to whom
He bequeathed his name,
His heroic name;
Guard it by your deeds
Make it loved of me." [1]

[1] Odomo-Yakamochi (d. 785 A. D.), translation from F. Brinkley's "Japan."

Bushido saw a long history before it came to be anything worthy of its later name. In the beginning men who served as captains and soldiers under the conqueror formed an imperial guard whose descendants usually served in the same capacity. In the great reform of the seventh century, the entire administration was modeled after the system then in vogue in the Tang dynasty of China. A new code of laws, called *Taihorei*, was promulgated in the first year of the eighth century, in which a complete military system was set forth. According to the code one man in every three was to be drafted as a soldier. One-third of the whole number were selected as soldiers of the State: a part of these was stationed in Kyoto, then the capital, a part was sent to Kyushu, a large island in the south-west, to guard against foreign invasion, while the rest were commissioned to different regiments throughout the Empire. They were trained under strict discipline, and made faithful defenders of the sovereign and court. In those days no distinct classes were formed by the different professions, though warriors generally occupied the highest position in society. In course of time the central government became

too weak to control the military affairs of the Empire. Clans arose in various parts of the country and fought for supremacy. The court not infrequently became the scene of intrigues and struggles for ascendency by one or another clan. Fujiwara, Taira and Minamoto came into power in succession. As time went on it came to be a matter of necessity for each clan to keep its own soldiers. The military requirements of the *Taihorei* became a dead letter; and thus, in larger and smaller clans, bodies of men were trained for military service, gradually forming a class of warriors known as samurai.

After the Restoration and the unification of the whole Empire in 1868, the samurai class in different clans disbanded and its individual members were left to select each his own occupation. The samurai still retain the old class title of *shizoku*, but in reality there is hardly anything distinguishing them from commoners. Bushido at present is no longer the spirit of a class or of a portion of the people. It is *Yamato Damashii*, the soul of Japan. It forms an anonymous faith for the rank and file of the army and for all classes of the entire people.

Several factors worked for the development of Bushido. The chief and strongest among them was the unique character of the Japanese Imperial family. For more than twenty centuries a single line of imperial descent has retained the Japanese throne. "No two suns in the sky, no two sovereigns on earth" has been the conviction of loyal samurai and of the people at large. No emperor but the Tenshi [1] of Japan will be able to say of his subjects: "Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof."

Japan has ever been an independent nation. She has more than once been attacked by foreign invaders. In 1019, the Toi or Kittan threatened the southern islands; in 1274, 1281, and again in 1418, Mongols attempted an invasion, at one time with an apparently overwhelming force; but were repulsed by the warriors of Japan. In the last attempt the Mongols lost their fleet, wrecked by a tremendous gale which was believed by the Japanese of the time to have been a special interposition of the Kami to protect their land.

Loyalty to their ruling family has ever been a

[1] Literally "Son of Heaven."

marked characteristic of the nation; and an unreasoned, half-unconscious belief in the special divine care accorded the country, together with love for the natural beauty of the land, added to the prevailing sentiment of patriotism. It must, however, be admitted that loyalty to the Emperor, such as we find at present in Japan was not in existence among all classes of the people before the Meiji era. Much less is it true that the Emperor had been worshiped as a god, as not a few foreign observers have declared. That the Tenshi were held in reverence so high that we may almost say they have been worshiped is true; but no living Emperor has ever been deified. That would have been quite contrary to the true spirit of the Japanese.

Loyalty to the Emperor at first was confined largely to the warriors of the imperial guard, and to those who enjoyed close relations to the court. Descendants of the Imperial family and chiefs of clans always have been loyal to the Emperor except in a few minor instances. It is true, indeed, that during long periods the chief executive duties rested on the heads of various powerful clans; and, in some cases, emperors were com-

pelled to abdicate or were sent into exile; yet never was the throne occupied by any but members of the Imperial family. To the Tenshi always belonged the right to confer rank and to make appointments; and, if in practice he was not always free to act as he chose, in theory at least his authority was never disputed. The principle of loyalty, however, as almost the sole foundation of all virtue, found its widest application after the establishment of feudalism, from the tenth century onward.

Feudalism created so many grades of masters, as nearer and more tangible objects of loyal service, that it soon made this principle the all-pervading bond of social life. The Tenshi had his immediate court officials and his vice-regent, the Shogun; these had their own immediate retainers; these again in turn had their trusty servants, and so on. In most cases the attachment between a master and his servant was the heritage of many generations, and was even closer than blood relationship. But as the people advanced in civilization and the idea of nationality gradually grew within the minds of leading men, the Tenshi and his cause came increasingly to

be the watchword of loyalty, and when feudalism was finally overthrown in the Restoration of 1868, the Tenshi became the sole object of popular devotion. He represents today to each one of his fifty millions of subjects the unity, interests and glory of the whole. For this evolution from petty, divided and often conflicting claims of loyalty into the enlightened and unified loyalty of today, Japan is greatly indebted to the revival of Shinto, from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Chinese emphasized filial obedience as the foundation of all morality, the Japanese loyal devotion. The one found a popular ideal of virtue in the twenty-four patterns of filial piety, which can best be described as caricatures of great virtue; the other in the story of the Forty-seven Ronin who revenged the death of their prince in the face of the greatest difficulties, each, in order to accomplish his object, hating his father, mother, wife and children, and, when it was accomplished, committing *harakiri* in calm satisfaction. We see the difference between these two peoples yet more in the fact that, among modern Chinese, while patriotism and official probity appear to be

singularly wanting, there are in striking contrast great virtues of a private and personal nature. Thrift, perseverance, and honesty in business seem to follow from their devotion to the interests of the household. The trustworthiness of Chinese merchants has become almost proverbial in the Far East.

Chu and *Ko*, loyalty and filial piety, are usually associated, and are indeed regarded by the Japanese as the two cardinal virtues; but in fact loyalty has always been placed first. An example of the conflict between these two virtues is found in the remonstrance of Taira-Shigemori to his father on his plan of violence against the Emperor: "If I am loyal, I cannot be filial; if I am filial, I cannot be loyal; here is my sore dilemma." In the case of Nakae-Toju we see an example of devotion to an aged mother against the will of a feudal lord; but generally loyalty served as the more powerful motive. To the modern Japanese it means devotion to the cause of the nation in addition to personal attachment to the Emperor. In the face of such devotion all other duties must give way.

There is a well-known story of a Japanese

soldier at the front at the time of the Russo-Japanese war in Manchuria, one day reading a letter from a woman and shedding tears. He was rebuked in scorn by a lieutenant for his weakness of character; but was discovered to be reading a letter from his mother telling him of her deep affection for her only son, of her fear lest he might not be brave at the front because of his love for her, of her determination to take her own life that he might be free from all anxiety and the more ready to give himself for his country.

Among many characteristics of the Japanese that have been manifested in these years of wonderful change, the spirit of loyalty surely stands most conspicuous. Unless one fairly understands the secret that lies behind the spirit, it is impossible for him to know the motives that have made the Japanese a marvel to the world. At the time of the Restoration, three hundred daimyo, owners of estates, many of them for generations, passed over their ancestral lands to the Imperial government. Millions of samurai, all but a small minority, relinquished without murmur their hereditary honor, to live on the same plane with peasants, artisans and merchants.

It was an act without precedent, an event unparalleled in the history of the world. Without an understanding of the Japanese spirit of loyalty, it cannot be understood; but with that spirit it might have been expected.

With Chugi, the spirit of loyalty, are associated several allied virtues which find the best expression in the exercise of that spirit. Chief of these are gratitude, fidelity, honor, justice and self-sacrifice. I remember being frequently taught as a child that to be ungrateful was to be brutish. Even among animals, the dog remembers a kindness, while the cat is regarded with less favor because she has little or no gratitude. Buddhism teaches "the four blessings," viz. the blessing of parents, of one's country, of the people at large, of Buddha; to be thankful for these is the duty of man. To show gratitude for blessings received is a teaching common to Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism. Japanese have it impressed upon them from childhood that there is nothing so base as ingratitude.

One reason why the Japanese have opposed Christianity is that they have mistakenly thought that it makes light of the favors and mercies

which we receive from rulers and parents. If they could understand its real teachings regarding gratitude to God, they would gladly accept them. To teach them that, if they do not believe in God, they will receive punishment, while, if they believe, they will be rewarded, has no influence to move them whatever. If they are taught that the chief purpose of prayer is to express gratitude to God, and that to walk in the way of righteousness is to requite the favors of heaven, there is not one who will fail to understand and appreciate, whatever may be their personal response.

It was the sense of gratitude that prompted the imperialists of the Restoration to sacrifice their lives for the cause. Their endeavor and their struggles for the Tenshi and for the cause of the country were works of devotion and of love. Nothing could be further from the truth than to regard them as motived by a stern sense of duty. "To requite a ten thousandth part of the manifold favors of the Emperor or country" is with the Japanese always a strong motive.

It must not be forgotten that there have been many wise and benevolent rulers as well as loyal subjects. Shirakawa-Rakuo was a typical daimyo,

and well expressed the feeling of many wise masters among the feudal lords when he said: "There is an old saying that wise rulers are like loving mothers in their relations toward their subjects, but I am not their mother, since they feed me with the grain they raise, while I do not help them in their work at all. They are indeed my kind nurses."

Emperor Komei on the eve of the Restoration, troubled by the problems of a disturbed people and the threatening shadow of foreign insistence, spoke from a sincere heart the words:

> Through the daylight and the darkness,
> Hang upon my heart oppressed
> Those dark sails of foreign vessels,
> While I seek my people's rest.

Of the poems written by the late Emperor, always deeply sympathetic with the people, the following, composed at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, is quite typical.

> Whene'er I sorrow,
> Thinking of our soldiers slain
> In bloody battle,
> In my soul I grieve the more
> For their parents weeping sore.

The devotion of the samurai was not slavish or the result of despotic oppression, but a matter of mutual devotion. Marcus Aurelius writes in the beginning of his "Meditations": "To the gods I am indebted for having a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good." If to the list he had added "good Emperor to serve and good country to live in," the sentiment would have exactly expressed the feeling of the Japanese.

Fidelity is an essential element in loyalty, faithfulness under all circumstances even unto death. "All sins, great and small, may be forgiven on repentance and no scars remain, except two, the flight of a samurai from the post where he should die, and theft. These leave a lifelong wound which never heals. All born as samurai, men and women, are taught from childhood that fidelity must never be forgotten." [1] We may well say that the spirit of the samurai in his relation to his lord was essentially the same as that expressed in the Apostle's words: "For none of us liveth to himself, and none dieth to himself.

[1] Muro-Kiuso in "*Okina Mondō.*"

For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." (Rom. 14:7–8.)

"A faithful wife never seeks a second husband; a loyal servant never seeks a second master" has been a proverbial saying among the samurai. After the death of her husband, a woman cuts her hair in sign of fidelity; and a true retainer never offered himself to the service of another, even though he were expelled from his master's household through no fault of his own, or even though his master's house through calamity came to extinction and he himself were left a homeless wanderer.

In March of the sixteenth year of Tensho (1589), when Tokugawa-Iyeyasu came to Kyoto, Hideyoshi offered high rank to Torii-Mototada if he would serve him. Mototada respectfully refused the honor, saying that his family from generation to generation had served Tokugawa, and, as he knew not how to be loyal to two masters, he must be allowed to decline.

The sense of honor, for himself and for the family, was strong within the samurai. Rather to die than to lose honor was the feeling that

developed the extraordinary manner of suicide called *harakiri*. It was not mere suicide. It was an institution, legal and ceremonial, invented in the middle ages, by which warriors could expiate their crimes, apologize for error, escape from disgrace, redeem their friends or prove their sincerity. As a way of punishment it has now been forbidden; but voluntary suicide according to the old idea to save one's honor has not been fully checked. We still hear of it from time to time; and shall continue to hear, as long as the past is vitally remembered.[1]

Shiba-Yoshimasa, a famous samurai of the fifteenth century, is said to have declared that "the warrior should act not only with thought for himself but also for his generation and for the long future. He should not taint his name forever with cowardice, to save his life which is of but short duration. He should regard it as the highest object of desire to die for the sake of his sovereign or sacrifice his life upon any great occasion on the battle-field."

[1] Since the writing of these words, there has occurred the tragic suicide of General and Countess Nogi,—at the time of the funeral of the late Emperor, Meiji Tenno, who passed away July 30th, 1912.

The following is one of the most popular poems familiar to sons of the samurai.

> "Today the cherries are blooming,
> Tomorrow scattered they lay;
> Their blooms are like to the warrior,
> Whose life may end with the day;
> Yet strives he ever unfailing,
> His name in honor to stay."

The conviction that while "a man lives but one generation, his name lives unto all generations," is a ruling principle with the Japanese.

Several years ago a whole family of the samurai class died of hunger in Kumamoto. They considered it unbecoming and cowardly to ask for aid, and so died together. But in the alcove of their room, it is said, stood intact a box containing a splendid and valuable set of armor.

Certain of the proverbial sayings cherished by the samurai give an idea of how greatly justice was esteemed among them. "The superior man sacrificing his life does a truly human deed. There is no regret in giving one's life for the sake of justice." "Life I desire, but justice also I desire. If I cannot have both I take justice and cast my life away." "To see justice and fail to do it is an act of cowardice." "Who is he uncor-

rupted by riches and high rank, unmoved by poverty and misery, unawed by authority and power? He is a man, the truly manly man." "The superior man sees things according to the principle of justice, but the inferior man sees them according to the interest they may bring."

Saigo-Takamori, a general and statesman of the Restoration period, used to say that "a man who seeks neither life, nor name, nor rank, nor money, is the hardest man to manage. But only with such can life's tribulations be shared, and such only can bring great things to the country."

Justice requires rectitude and outspoken frankness with masters as well as with subordinates. Beautiful tales there are of faithful subjects who were not afraid to caution their lords or rebuke them for their misconduct, often at the risk of their own lives.

The late Mr. T. Miyoshi, an earnest Christian, once Chief Justice of the Court of Cassation, while studying in Berlin heard from his tutor a story of Frederick the Great which, singularly enough, softened his heart concerning Christianity as nothing before had done. One of the famous generals of the great king was General von Zei-

then, a devoted Christian. On one occasion the king had a feast, and von Zeithen arrived behind time. When asked by the king what had made him so late, the general replied that he had been attending the Lord's Supper. The king laughed and scornfully said, "Was the blood of Jesus sweet?" The general was indignant, and sternly said to the king: "Your Majesty used to fear God or I should not be serving you now; but I find you have become so proud as to speak blasphemously of Christ. I shall continue in your service no longer." So saying, he was about to leave the room. The whole concourse was aghast. The king mused for a moment and said: "I was simply joking; however strong my soldiers may be, if it were not for God's help, how could we attain success? I never meant to disregard Him!" On this the general returned to his seat, and both the king and the general spent the evening as if nothing had happened. Mr. Miyoshi subsequently related this story at a meeting, and added: "There I found for the first time that the present greatness of Prussia had its foundation in this beautiful relation between the king and his subjects, sanctified by the teachings of Christianity. It

entirely removed my prejudice that the Christian religion tended to weaken the loyalty of the people toward their ruler."

"Full well I knew this course must end in death;
It was Yamato-spirit urged me on
To dare whate'er betide." [1]

This verse, well expressing the spirit of the imperialists of the Restoration, makes evident the self-sacrifice for the sake of others which was required in Chugi.

As an illustration of the old-time education of a samurai, I take the following account from the "Taiyo" magazine.[2] "The people of Kagoshima were accustomed to foster among themselves a spirit of utter disregard of death. When a boy had grown to the age of seven or eight, his father or elder brother, or one standing in place of them, would ask him, without giving any explanation, 'Are you ready to die for your lord and for your father?' The boy, then, would reply in the same frank manner, as if making a sacred pledge, 'I am ready to die, I am ready to die.' But even among the bold and daring Satsuma samurai were some weak-

[1] Translation from "Bushido" by I. Nitobe.
[2] Vol. 4, No. 1.

spirited boys who would not reply thus promptly. Their fathers or brothers would then expostulate with them, and even beat them until they gave their pledge." Looked at in the light of today, this was a barbarous custom; but it is evident that there was something in the education of a samurai closely akin to religious fervor.

Calm self-sacrifice, even to the taking of one's own life, was expected of the samurai; but the true samurai never encouraged reckless dying. On the contrary, one of the golden rules for the samurai says, "Man ought to die; or he ought not to die. Should he die recklessly, he violates the virtue of bravery." So death may be a matter of virtue or of shame; and young Japanese often repeat the song from a Chinese poet:

> "Death for every man abides:
> A mountain weight of great concern,
> A feather fluff of light account,
> The circumstance alone decides."

Such words as these of the Apostle Paul: "For I wish myself accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," while hard to understand on utilitarian principles, are readily understood from the standpoint of loyalty.

Words also like these of Christ: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me," are wholly natural when considered in the light of the principle that "the most sacred relations must give way before great duties."

Such theological statements as that the cross of Christ is an atonement, offered for the appeasing of God's wrath, find very reluctant acceptance among Japanese. But the cross from the standpoint of self-sacrifice presents no special difficulty. There is not a Japanese whose admiration is not quickened when hearing of Sakura-Sogoro of Shimosa, who, manifesting the spirit of self-sacrifice for equals and inferiors, took his life in his hand and went to the cross for the sake of his neighbors. Though the cross may be a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Greeks, it is not to the Japanese.

Though the introduction of Western civilization, with its democratic and materialistic tendencies, seemed for the time to overshadow the influence of Bushido, its vital element of loyalty could not be permanently weakened. Bushido's

modern expounder, in his famous monologue upon the Soul of Japan,[1] has declared that "Christianity and materialism will divide the world between them. Lesser systems of morals will ally themselves on either side for their preservation. . . . Having no set dogma or formula to defend, it (Bushido) can afford to disappear as an entity . . . but a total extinction will never be its lot." The element for its preservation is the element of loyalty which in its new alliance with Christianity has possibilities of development into something far more exalted than Japan has yet experienced, for "Loyalty," in the words of Prof. Royce, "is the Will to Believe in something eternal, and to express that belief in the practical life of a human being." [2]

[1] Inazo Nitobe, "Bushido," pp. 175–176.
[2] Royce, "Philosophy of Loyalty," p. 357.

VII

MIRAI: THE IDEA OF FUTURE LIFE

Mirai signifies the life to come, literally "not yet come." It usually means life after death, though in certain cases it denotes the future in the present world.

The first record of death in Japanese literature is that of the departure of Izanami, the wife of Izanagi, to the land of *Yomi* or darkness. Her husband followed her, calling upon her to return; whereat she replied: "My Lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking-furnace of *Yomi*. But I am about to lie down to rest. Do not thou look upon me." But, as Izanagi grew impatient, he looked upon her; and, behold, "Her body was already putrid, maggots swarmed over it. . . . Izanagi, greatly shocked, exclaimed, 'What a hideous and polluted land I have come to unawares.' So he speedily ran away."[1] This extract from mythol-

[1] W. G. Aston, "Shinto," p. 93.

ogy shows the idea of the hereafter entertained by the people of the pre-Buddhist age. The abode of the departed was a place of darkness and misery, detestable to living beings. It somewhat resembled the hades of Greek mythology, but was even more vague and indefinite.

That Shinto recognized the existence of the soul apart from the body is apparent in ancient literature. In the "Nihongi," it is said that when Ochichina-no-mikoto once sailed upon the sea, a divine luminary lighted the water and approached him; whereupon he had a conversation with it and discovered it to be his own soul (*tama*). The story tells us that by the help of the soul he was successful in his undertaking. The soul has a distinct existence and is endowed with power to act, while separated from the body. *Tama* means a jewel, much prized in ancient times; and probably the spirit of man gained the name from its association with precious treasures. A *tama* was said to consist of two different qualities: one *nikitama*, the peaceful or passionate element, and the other, *aratama*, the vigorous or active element. Hirata, a Shinto scholar of the last century, believed in the immortality of the soul, and took

pains to prove the same of Confucius. "If the dead are non-existent," he argues, "what meaning can there be in the worship of ancestors, and how shall we account for the undoubted fact that dead men send curses upon those who have injured them while alive?" [1]

The very idea of care for the departed, or ancestor worship, proves the belief of the ancients in the continuance of their superiors and friends after their departure from the world. But the faith in the Kami has nothing to cheer the pilgrim at the verge of death, no brighter hope than Job when he said: "I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and of the shadow of death." (Job 10:21.)

The introduction of Chinese literature developed and confirmed the custom of the worship of the dead; but in regard to the abode of the dead or their condition, Confucianism and Taoism contributed almost nothing. Confucius appears to have discouraged inquiry into the problem as one beyond the comprehension of man. "He did not speculate on the creation of things or the end of them. He was not troubled to account for the

[1] W. G. Aston, "History of Japanese Literature," p. 338.

origin of man, nor did he seek to know about his hereafter. He meddled neither with physics nor metaphysics."[1] He answered a question concerning death, saying: "While you do not know life, how can you know death?" Taoistic search after the elixir of eternal life was not for spiritual life but for physical longevity in the present existence.

The Japanese awaited Buddhism for teaching about the future life. It brought to them a profound world-view and mysterious philosophy of life. It claimed to be the religion for the life that was, is, and is to be. It sought to explain all phenomena in the past, present and future by the theory of cause and effect. Brahmanism teaches that the soul of man migrates from one existence to another, be it man or animal, in heaven or hell. But transmigration according to Buddhism is only a manifestation of Karmatic cause and effect. No real soul migrates. Therefore the transmigration theory of Buddhism does not imply the immortality of the soul. The bodies combine in this world, but dissolve into their constituent elements and disappear; and nothing remains. At the same moment another two, as the result of previous

[1] James Legge, "Confucius," p. 99.

Karma, combine and form a new living being, and the process will be repeated forever. This is the philosophic statement of transmigration according to Buddhism; and, though the idea of cause and effect exercised a tremendous influence on the Japanese mind, its prevalent doctrine of the future is not pure Buddhism. Strangely, the Brahmanic theory of the existence of the individual soul and its immortality is more popularly held among Buddhists who are not well versed in their own doctrines.

The philosophic doctrine of *Karma*, or the practical application of the theory of *Ingwa*,[1] did not secure the firm adherence of the people at large. It afforded no bright hope of the future, no ideal of saintly communion; and the deep desire of the Japanese was for something more heartening and assuring. In response to their great longing was developed the Jodo (Pure Land) sect and its branch known as *Shin-shu*. They taught definitely, in contradiction to orthodox Buddhism, the existence of individual souls, salvation through faith in Amida and the life everlasting in paradise. Expediency may have in

[1] Transmitted moral cause and effect.

some measure prompted the teaching of these doctrines; but, in any case, they rapidly gained a popularity far greater than that of the orthodox sects with their theory of absorption or extinction. In the view of the Jodo believer, *Jigoku* (hell) is very real and a place where every bad man and woman will suffer the punishment due the sin done in the body; while in *Gokuraku* (paradise) the good enjoy bliss with Amida, the saints and those personal friends who in righteousness through faith have passed beyond this life.

The death of Honen, the founder of Jodo, illustrates the reality of his faith. He was very weak and obliged to recline; but, as death drew near, his senses quickened, and the hours were passed in instructing his disciples and uttering the name of Amida. His last words have been preserved in a famous stanza in the murmuring of which he fell asleep.

"His rays of light the world on every side pervade;
His grace forsakes not one who calls on him for aid."

The following story, taken from a Shinshu tract, will illustrate the hope entertained by a plain believer. "A little boy of pious parents in Tokyo lies sick with no hope of recovery. He is

eight years old, and has always been a good boy, nay a very good little boy, ardent in his faith, constant in his devotions, and regular in his attendance upon sermons. During this his last illness, he is attended by a doctor who is an unbeliever. The parents stand weeping round the boy, who however tells them not to weep. 'I shall soon be with Amida, in paradise,' says he, 'and there I shall wait for you. Tell my brother to be a good boy and not to forget his religion. I want him to be with us there.'" [1] The story goes on to tell of the immediate conversion of the attendant physician, and, with a change of names, might be employed by a certain class of Christian evangelists.

A belief in the communion of saints found its way into the writings of Kuya, especially in his work entitled "Wojo Yoshu," The Principles of Birth in Pure Land. He opens with a description of the miseries of various states of existence and closes with a brilliant portrayal of the bliss of the Pure Land, especially of the communion of saints. With the Japanese Buddhists the community of

[1] Arthur Lloyd, "Development of Japanese Buddhism" in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. xxii, p. 418.

believers extends to all spirits in every state of existence. Travellers in Japan will see monumental stones raised by the roadside with the uniform inscription—*Sangai Banrei Kuyo no To*, [Erected for the (spiritual) benefit of all the spirits in the three worlds.] The erection is usually the work of a private person and is carried out with solemn ceremony and the recitation of sacred texts.[1]

Buddhism took unto itself some of the religious customs that were in existence in Japan before its introduction. Services in memory of the dead were among these. Ancestor worship, maintained and developed by Confucianism, was sanctioned by Buddhism and produced the *Bon Matsuri*, which is universally held in Japan even to the present day. The *Bon Matsuri* is the "All Saints' Day" of Buddhism. It is a festival held for three days in midsummer, during which time the graves of departed friends are visited and adorned. White lanterns are suspended to light the guests, for the spirits of the dead are thought to return

[1] M. Anesaki, "Buddhist Influence upon the Japanese," in "Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religion." Vol. i, pp. 155–156.

to the scenes of their earthly life. Figures of steeds in straw are prepared and paper boats are launched upon the lakes that none may lack conveyance. Household feasts are held; and food is reserved for the unseen. It is a time of mutual kindness, and open-air dances are common in country districts.

"One long, deep breath, a sigh from sleeping earth,
As though in troubled dreams her spirit stirred,
And all is still. No call of wakeful bird,
No lift of leaf on trembling wave of air,
But soulful silence brooding everywhere;
The stars are veiled and from their heights are heard
The noiseless sweep of spirit forces, stirred
As at the moment of some wond'rous birth.
Before each household shrine the candle gleams;
The food is spread for guests that come unseen;
And human faith in simple ways is fed.
The air is filled with lucent, mystic beams;
They come indeed, the loved and lost, I ween;
And human hearts by lowly ways to God are led."[1]

The return of spirits to the world, into children or other human beings, has been a somewhat popular belief among the Japanese. It is probably a corollary of the belief in ancestor spirits. Masashige, the ideal hero of patriotism in Japan, de-

[1] "Bon," by F. A. Lombard.

clared, "I will be born seven times to fight for the cause of the Emperor." The same sentiment was expressed by a hero of the late war, Captain Hirose of the navy.

Upon close examination of the Buddhist scriptures of the Mahayana Canon, we find that paradise, the land of bliss, is described with all sorts of imaginative and parabolic figures. For instance, according to the Small Amitaya Sutra,[1] "In that world, Sukuvati, there are lotus lakes adorned with the seven gems, gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds and coral. They are full of water which possesses eight good qualities. Their water rises as high as the fords and bathing places so that even crows may drink; they are full of golden sand and are of vast extent. And in these lotus lakes are jeweled trees, gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds and corals. And in these lotus lakes flowers are growing, blue, blue colored, of blue splendor, blue to behold; yellow, yellow colored, of yellow splendor, yellow to behold; red, red colored, of red splendor, red to behold; white, white colored, of white splendor, white to behold; beautiful, beautifully colored, of

[1] "*Sho-Amida-Kyo.*"

beautiful splendor, beautiful to behold, and in circumference as large as the wheel of a chariot."

The descriptions given here and in other places are of nothing but an epicurean paradise, due largely to eudæmonistic conceptions. The lack of a high spiritual and moral tone is most noticeable. Hell, on the other hand, is pictured as a place of every possible sort of pain, terror, trial and persecution that could be imagined. But it must be added that all these descriptions are commonly understood to be figurative and symbolic. As a matter of fact, not many attempts are made nowadays by Buddhist priests even among the popular Shin sect to learn or teach of the world to come. The tendency is decidedly the other way.

The belief that death is not the end of all is universal among all men, though for the masses there is no clear conception of the spirit apart from the body, nor of the state of the life to come. The heart revives faith in immortality faster than the intellect destroys it. Tragedies called *shinju* or *joshi*, the dying together of young men and women in love, are not infrequent in Japan. Despairing lovers commit suicide that they may live

together happily in the next world. During 1909, the number of suicides in Japan was 10,149 of which 6,245 were men and 3,904 were women. A considerable number of these must have been such so-called "without deliberation" affairs. There is also a superstition concerning the power of death to cleanse from all stains of evil. By death one may be consecrated and become a *kami* or *hotoke*, a god or a buddha. The merit may be the greater when the death is by one's own hand.

The more thoughtful and educated are either agnostic or pantheistic. The vague idea of Kami or Ten is in harmony with such a tendency. It is not easy to point to any renowned scholar who has clearly expressed a definite faith in the immortality of the individual soul; but, on the other hand, I know of no scholar of high standing who clearly denies the future existence of the soul, except one, Nakaye, a political leader, a disciple of Bentham and Rousseau who wrote a few years ago a treatise entitled "No God, No Soul." His book has not been taken seriously but treated rather as the work of an eccentric scholar.

In philosophic statement, Japanese scholars

are as a rule pantheistic, and invariably lack definiteness of expression upon the subject. Some believe in the identity of the human spirit with the spirit of the universe and in a final union of both that is everlasting. *Ten* (heaven), *Shin* (god), *Ki* (energy), *Haku* (spirit), and *Kon* (soul) are freely used without a clear conception of their meaning. The pantheistic conception of the world has prevailed in the teachings of Chinese scholars in Japan and of Shintoists as well as of Buddhists. Sato-Issai's statement is typical of the Chinese scholar of the Shushi school in Japan. "Birth is the beginning of death; death is the end of birth. Without birth there is no death; without death there is no birth. Birth is of life; death also is of life. The law of change is the principle of eternally living life." Nakae-Toju was more of an idealist. He said in substance: "At death man shall return to the all pervading spirit, 'as a vapor in the sky melts away, as a drop mingles with the sea, as fire disappears in fire.' He can have no immortal soul. For his conscious self there is 'nothing beyond slipping into the grave.' His highest hope is that his influence for good may survive; and his greatest

fear is that his memory may be accursed." A representative of the Classical School, Ogiu-Sorai, said: "When a man is dead, his body and spirit return to earth and his soul returns to heaven."

The consolation of an aged Confucianist nearing the close of his life has been expressed as follows: "How blessed was he then that from his youth he had seen through the windows of philosophy the value of the passing years; that he had followed Tei-Shu and sought the manners of the sages; that he had admired the literary style of Kantaishi and Oyōshu and had learned halting to walk the Way. What consolation was this for his aged wakefulness! Through many months and years well had he considered the passing, changing world, with its alternating adversity and prosperity, its bloom and decay. Among it all only the Way of the sages stands with Heaven and Earth. Past and present the Way only changes not. Men should wonder at it and praise." [1]

Reference has been made to the optimistic nature of the Japanese. Love and reverence for the beauty of nature, displayed in exquisite degree

[1] Muro-Kiuso in "*Shuntai Zatsuwa*," written in his seventy-fifth year.

in their land, bind them to the present life. They are not so sorry to die for fear of the future, as sad to leave the world of enjoyment. The dread of coming punishment never appears to them a matter of great seriousness. Kurozumi, the founder of one of the popular Shinto sects, says, "Our lives are already happy and peaceful. There is neither anxiety nor pain. Mankind indeed lives in such a world. Should there then be any other thing for us than to be filled with gladness and joy both day and night?"

"Rejoice! The world is full of joy;
And who is he that calls the same
A world made up of base alloy,
A painful realm of daily shame?

"Alas! The pitying eye may rest
When, born to such a world of grace,
Man, finding nothing that is best,
Despiseth mournfully his place."

Therefore was his creed most optimistic: "Never lack sincerity. Be in touch with life. Be cheerful. Come out from self. Trust in Heaven. Be of calm mind like a great unmovable rock. Make your spirit courageous like the morning sun." [1]

[1] For the Life and Words of Kurozumi see "The Life of a Great Man, Kurozumi-Munetada" by K. Kiyama.

A passage from an English writer expresses the sentiment of optimistic Shinto believers and the spirit prevalent among Japanese in general. "That life was given us to be enjoyed, few men in their sober senses, not distracted by unendurable anguish or rendered morbid by a perverse theology, have ever seriously dreamed of doubting. . . . The earth is sown with pleasure, as the heavens are studded with stars, wherever the conditions of existence are unsophisticated. Scarcely a scene that is not redolent of beauty; scarcely a flower that does not breathe sweetness. Not one of our senses that, in its healthy state, is not an avenue to enjoyment, not one of our faculties that it is not a delight to exercise. Provision is made for the happiness of every disposition and of every taste, the active, the contemplative, the sensuous, the ethereal. Provision is made for the happiness of every age, for dancing infancy, for glowing youth, for toiling manhood, for reposing age." [1]

The optimism of Shinto, the skepticism of

[1] W. R. Greg, "Literary and Social Judgment," quoted by W. Dening, "The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. xix, p. 22.

Confucianism, the pantheism of Buddhism and the stoicism of Bushido, all of these contribute to the cultivation of the cool attitude of indifference to the future life. As Confucius said, "If in the morning one but rightly hears the way of life, that evening he may die without regret."

The spirit of loyalty naturally encouraged the stoic ideal of indifference to death. Oishi-Yoshio, the leader of the Forty-seven Ronin, has been regarded an ideal samurai for many centuries. After the completion of his desire for revenge upon the enemy of his lord, he left a stanza before committing *harakiri*.

> "We have cast our lives away,
> Cherished longings are fulfilled;
> Floating clouds no longer lay
> O'er our hearts, serene and still,
> In radiant peace."

Among the Japanese as among the Chinese, the continuance of the family was considered to be a matter of more concern than the immortal existence of individual spirits. The family in the Orient includes a much wider circle than in the Occident. It includes, of course, the man and his wife and children; it also includes all who are

connected by any blood relationship, both the living and the dead, who bear the same family name. The rise and fall, the success and failure, the glory and shame, of an individual affect alike the whole clan that bears the name. To honor the family name has been a strong motive for great and courageous action as well as a powerful incentive for every-day industry and behavior. Confucius regarded the extinction of the family as the greatest dishonor to one's parents. Mencius said: "Three things are unfilial, and having no son is the worst." For the sake of getting posterity to prevent the family line from becoming extinct, concubinage has been considered morally legitimate in China and Japan. The hope of immortality rests in children and in the children of children who will inherit the spirit of their ancestors.

The tendency to worldliness has always been strong. The secularization of Buddhism was manifest very soon after its introduction. As early as the Nara and the Heian periods, Buddhist prayer had as its object the prosperity of the country and people. Sacred hymns were chanted and invocations were offered for the recovery

of emperors. Temples and pagodas were erected for the welfare of the country, even as Shinto shrines and temples were built for the same purpose. Prayer and worship in Shinto temples have always been for the prosperity and happiness of the present life.[1]

In conclusion, I would repeat—the faith of the Japanese does not deny the reality of the life to come. "Put trust in Providence." "Divine Intelligence is over us." "Life and death are the order of Heaven." "The eternal Michi supervises the destiny of every man." "Heaven knows and Earth knows." These are the sentiments which echo the inner consciousness which inspired and comforted the men who followed the Way of old. But no bright and positive hope of immortal life, able to satisfy the aspiration of noble souls, has ever entered the mind of poets

[1] A professor of sociology, Dr. R. Yendo, once secured a list of the objects for which prayer was offered at one of the popular Shinto shrines in the Province of Echigo (Yahiko Jinsha). The list shows, among 9860 cases of prayer offered during a year, 7109 for prosperity and the safety of families, 549 for personal safety, 458 for safety on the sea, 411 for business success, 306 for the realization of personal desires, 269 for recovery from sickness. The proportionately large number of prayers for families should be in particular noticed.

of the Yamato race. The Faith of Japan has produced no Psalmist to sing "I shall behold Thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness." (Ps. 17: 15).

VIII

THE FAITH: OLD AND NEW

"WHAT goes before becomes master," is a Japanese saying which finds abundant illustration in our history. It is a matter of common observation that a man's choices, tastes, and judgments are determined chiefly by his preconceptions, his interests, or his beliefs; and when such prejudices have sent their roots into the soil of the centuries it is well-nigh impossible to tear them out. "No man having drunk old wine desireth new; for he saith, 'The old is better.'"

There are many reasons for the opposition of educated Japanese to Christianity, but the first one that falls from their lips is likely to be that Japan already has her own religion, and has therefore no need for the religion of the West. From the outset they are prejudiced against it. They declare that all religions, regardless of their different objects of worship, aim to foster good-

ness and discourage badness. "The paths at the foot of the mountain diverge, but they all lead to the same summit and command a view of the same moon." What reason, therefore, for embracing a new faith? Self-righteousness likewise repels the advances of a faith that says, "Ye must be born anew." To such Pharisees among us one can hear Jesus' pitying rebuke: "They that are whole have no need of a physician." The attitude of such Japanese is aptly expressed by Kunitake Kume: "In what religion, then, do I believe? I cannot answer that question directly. I turn to the Shinto priest in case of public festivals, while the Buddhist priest is my minister for funeral services. I regulate my conduct according to Confucian maxims and Christian morals. I care little for external forms, and doubt whether there are any essential differences, in the *Kami's* (Deity's) eyes, between any of the religions of the civilized world." [1]

The religious situation in Japan today is intimately connected with the culture of medieval Japan. That culture was dominated by the samurai, for their training and authority were

[1] Count Okuma, "Fifty Years of New Japan," Vol. ii, p. 41.

not confined to military arts alone. During the three hundred years ending about 1870, they held a monopoly of education no less than of government. Their conceptions were entirely based upon Confucianism. Now Confucius was a positivist; his world was the world of visible reality. Confucianism is poor in the element of imagination. It therefore offers but stony ground for the ideas of the supernatural, of mystery, of eternity, and of sublimity. Hence, to Japanese reared according to Confucianism, that is, to the intelligent middle and upper classes, miracles have been a great stumbling-block. To be sure, Japanese customs and religions have not been free from superstition—ghost-stories and strange tales of answers to prayer abound; but such things are held lightly, and the educated class for the most part scorns them. The following is typical of this spirit: "That in spite of the best efforts of missionaries, Christianity does not make a marked progress here is simply due to the fact that the higher and educated classes are not so prone and receptive to the miraculous and supernatural. How can it be otherwise when Western missionaries preach us blind faith in the sanctity of the Bible,

and the consequent acceptance of all the miracles contained therein, while Western teachers and professors preach us the supremacy of reason, the necessity of scrutiny, and the disbelief of anything supernatural." [1]

But strong as is the aversion to the supernatural, the most determined opposition to Christianity has sprung, strange as it may seem, from distrust of its ethical principles. For Japanese critics assert that neither loyalty nor filial piety finds clear expression in Christianity; and since these two principles are the very central pillars of Japanese morality, a religion that slights them is considered not only unsuited, but a positive menace, to the nation. The principle of loyalty is not native to Confucianism. Filial piety is its basal principle—"Filial piety is the mother of a hundred virtues." But Confucianism gradually underwent new developments after coming to Japan. For several hundred years Japanese morality rested equally upon the two principles. With the restoration of national peace, and the development of nationalism in modern times,

[1] Keiroku Tsuzuki, in "Fifty Years of New Japan," Vol. ii, p. 486.

loyalty crowded filial piety into a subordinate place and became itself the heart of Japanese morality. It should be said, however, that those who advocate the worship of the Emperor as divine are extremists. Apart from the narrowest of nationalists no one nowadays ventures to assert that the principle of loyalty and the principle of "Worship Heaven; reverence the gods" are in conflict. But, nevertheless, even today Christianity is eyed with suspicion by so-called patriots and imperialists. It is branded as an enemy of national morality. At the very least, it is charged with not upholding the good customs and traits handed down from olden times.

Among the various measures adopted in 1911 for the defence of national ideals was the pronounced official encouragement of ancestor worship.[1] This action may have been merely a part of the conservative effort to preserve old customs, foster a spirit of reverence for the elders, and maintain the social order. But it is open to question whether such a conservative reaction can be harmonized with the mighty motives which gave birth to New Japan at the Restoration of 1868.

[1] A more liberal policy has prevailed since 1912.

In the Imperial Oath[1] proclaimed at that time are these striking pledges:—

4. Uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through, and everything shall be based upon just and equitable principles of nature.

5. Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted.

Thus sanctioned and stimulated by the Imperial Oath, the renaissance sprang forward at a speed which has no parallel in the history of any other Oriental nation. But this extremely progressive spirit has suffered a decline in recent years. It was inevitable that a reaction should set in against the undeniable extremes to which the Restoration ran. But it is only just to say that without some such cataclysmic period it is doubtful if Japan could have leaped at a bound to a recognized place among the leading nations of the earth.

A glance at Japan's modern history will show that the recent past was not the only period of reaction; indeed, a much more severe reaction occurred

[1] The oath consists of five articles. The translation is by Prof. H. Hozumi of the Imperial University of Tokyo.

twenty years ago. About 1888 Japan was all aglow with the exhilaration of the spirit of progress. Political parties were proclaiming liberty and popular rights. Young men waxed eloquent over independence and self-reliance. Smiles' "Self-Help" enjoyed tremendous popularity among them. To carve out a career against all odds was the height of their ambition. Officials were despised, and mere knightly birth was looked down upon. Occidental ideas, good and bad alike. were welcomed with open arms. But from 1890, when the constitution was proclaimed, a marked change occurred. For although the constitution guaranteed popular rights, it also limited them. It proved to be more of a bulwark for the conservatives than for the radicals. The old social order, to be sure, had been in large measure replaced by the new, but under the influence of the reaction the old customs began gradually to be restored. From this time the cry of "Preserve the national spirit" became clamorous. Instead of cosmopolitanism the watchword was nationalism; instead of liberty, authority; instead of popular rights, national rights. Politicians still talked glibly of the fortunes of

their party, but they showed little inclination to fight for the rights of the people. Whereas young men of the earlier period had made political life the primary goal of their efforts, those of the new period strove after social promotion and the earning of a livelihood. The idea of democracy retired as constitutional government advanced. Narrow nationalists were not slow to turn this tidal-wave of conservatism to the serious disadvantage of Christianity.

The agitation for the preservation of the national spirit and traditions as against the West was not confined to Japanese. Europeans and Americans themselves had a part in it. It is true that many of the first missionaries and other Occidentals who came to Japan were inclined to classify Japanese with the barbarous peoples of the South Seas. Or even if they admitted that the nation was not wallowing in ignorance, yet they looked with contempt upon Japanese civilization. It required at least two decades before they were ready to admit the worth of Japanese religion, philosophy, and art. Gradually they came to see that Japanese art had struck out upon an original line, and that its creators could hardly

be called semi-barbarous, nor their religious and philosophical ideas be dismissed as superstitious jumble. The works of Rein, Morse, and Hearn led the way in effecting this change, and later, the writings of Dr. Nitobe and Prof. Okakura opened up to the Occident still further the unsuspected wealth in Japan's storehouses. The Japanese in general began to realize their own worth, and to see that things Western were not necessarily superior. This changed attitude toward the West inevitably affected Christianity unfavorably—for it too was looked upon as Western—and led to the reactionary period in Christian work from 1890 to 1900.

On the other hand, Christian evangelism has created one of its own most formidable obstacles, for its activity has been partly responsible for the modern revival of the old religions. The priests have been aroused to the need of an education abreast with the age. They have founded colleges for the training of promising youths, or have sent them abroad for graduate study. The Shin sect has become especially active, not only inaugurating philanthropic and social activities at home, but sending missionaries to Japanese

settlements abroad. Temples that had fallen into decay suddenly donned fresh garments, and sects that had long been stagnant began a new lease of life. But this phenomenon has been true not of all the sects, but of only one or two besides the Shin sect. The study of Buddhism has been taken up afresh by not a few among the educated class, but it would be an exaggeration to say that Buddhism as a whole had been deeply affected.

The wave of zeal for preserving the national spirit, and the aggressive activity of the Christian forces, have revived Shinto also, especially in its nationalistic aspect. Original Shinto consisted largely of the worship of nature. It had no founder, but arose in primitive times and, with the development of Japanese nationality, gradually took the form of a religious cult, adding to nature-worship an emphasis upon ceremonies connected with the Imperial House. At certain periods it formed an alliance with Buddhism, and at others it borrowed from Confucianism. The result is that today it peacefully shares with these other faiths the devotion of the Japanese people. Shinto as a national cult stands outside

the pale of religion proper, and is under the direction of government officials. Its chief function is to foster patriotism and solidarity by maintaining the national customs, and by preserving the shrines of Imperial ancestors and of all who have rendered notable service to the state.

Shinto is thus so closely interwoven with the nation's patriotic sentiment that it is a factor to be well reckoned with by Christianity. It is true that many Japanese confuse national pride with true patriotism, but both alike constitute possible obstacles to the acceptance of Christianity. To the historian it would be interesting to trace the rise of patriotism in Japan. It began in the form of the personal pride of the samurai, who prized his own and his lord's honor above life itself. But national patriotism in any real sense may be said to have arisen for the most part after the opening of foreign intercourse. It speedily grew into a passion that counts it joy to sacrifice life for Emperor or country. The result is that no religion which fails to respect the national spirit can hope to prosper. It is doubtless a combination of personal and national sensitiveness that makes it so delicate a matter

for a foreigner to criticize the Japanese. They especially resent criticism by unsympathetic outsiders. But, on the other hand, they take gratefully even the most adverse criticism of friendly foreigners. For the loving admonitions of proved friends like Verbeck, Brown, Davis and DeForest, the Japanese feel nought but gratitude and respect.

The last barrier to the acceptance of Christianity which I would mention is not peculiar to the Japanese people. It is simply the perversity of human nature itself the world over. Pride now, as in Jesus' day, the love of the glory of men, and disguised self-indulgence, all combine to form a high barricade against the approach of Christ to the heart of the educated. Japanese who have looked into the teaching of Christ admit the loftiness of His ideals, but hasten to excuse themselves by affecting to believe that they are impracticable in the modern world. The high and exacting moral standards of Christianity are in sharp contrast to the extreme lenience of other religions. The resulting "puritanic" character of Christians is admired by thoughtful men of high standing. They are eager to have their

wives and children brought under Christian influences, but they boast that they themselves are above relying on the crutch of religion to walk a fairly straight course. No preacher of the Gospel should be deceived by such self-sufficiency under the guise of tolerant patronage: it is the universal symptom of pride and hardness of heart.

Turning now from the practical to the more metaphysical aspect of our subject, we would observe, first, that Japanese, in common with other Orientals, are inclined toward pantheism, for they have been steeped in Buddhism. Shinto, to be sure, is polytheistic, but, on account of the influence of Buddhism, it too has taken on a pantheistic tinge. Confucianism, despite its idea of Heaven, is distinctly positivistic. Consequently, Japanese have had no clear conception of a personal God, nor even of the personality of man himself. It follows that they have never attained to an adequate conception of the worth of the individual. Sometimes the idea of duty has been confused with the idea of submission to authority, blessedness has been identified with happiness, and sin has been confused with crime. Hatred of sin and love of righteousness have

been but feebly felt. Hence religion has too often been degraded into a tool, a means to an end, a method of training for the pursuit of worldly success. As Canon Barnett justly observes, there is nothing in Japanese literature that corresponds to the lament and aspiration of the fifty-first Psalm.

Secondly, since the Restoration of 1868 Occidental skepticism has rushed in like a flood. Together with scientific thought have come anti-religious theories. Thirty years ago the writings of Mill, Spencer, and Thomas Paine, and more recently the philosophies of Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and Haeckel, have all had a vogue among the more intelligent Japanese, as indeed they have had throughout the world.

In the light of the above facts we may divide all educated Japanese outside the Christian body into three classes. The first consists of those who rule out religion altogether, and profess themselves satisfied with ethics alone. Among them are those educators who clamor for the revival of Confucianism. Their number is legion. Perhaps the most noted and most extreme anti-Christian among them is Baron H. Kato, form-

erly President of Toyko Imperial University. The second is composed of the eclectics who would fain amalgamate with Christianity the strong points of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism, making of the whole a rich mosaic. In this class probably a majority of thoughtful educated Japanese would enroll themselves. Quite recently two volumes on this line have appeared, the one called *The World's Three Saints* (i. e. Christ, Sakya Muni, and Confucius), the other, *Three Faiths United.* The third class cherishes the ambition of creating a new religion based upon scientific truth and idealism. It would do away with historical religions and their personal founders. These three classes taken together fairly represent the religious attitude of educated Japanese, and epitomize many of the difficulties confronting the Christian workers.

We have now passed in review the salient obstacles in the way of the propagation of Christianity in Japan. The question will probably occur to the reader: If all this be true, what accounts for the measure of success already attained?

First of all, we answer, is the fact that Chris-

tianity accompanied, and in some cases brought to Japan, the superior intellectual and practical civilization of the West. The missionaries of Christianity far outshone our scholars and priests in modern knowledge and skill. Even until a few years ago, to call a country or a man "Western" was synonymous with "superior." And since all the civilized peoples of the West were adherents of Christianity, that was admittedly the best religion. This period of infatuated Europeanization lasted from 1883 or 1884 until 1888 or 1889, and it was for the reason given above that Christianity made such rapid progress during this period.

Christianity brought a number of auxiliary agencies in its train. Missionaries were the pioneers of modern education in Japan. Dr. Verbeck, President Clark of Sapporo, Dr. Murray, who was once adviser to the Educational Department, and many others were employed by the national educational authorities, and Captain Janes, Dr. Griffis, and others were employed by the clan schools. Their influence for Christianity is well known. In private education Dr. Neesima and Dr. Davis at Dōshisha, Keiu Nakamura at

Dōninsha (for he at one time, at least, professed to be a Christian), and many other educators at such schools as Meiji, Aoyama, and Tohoku, exerted a powerful influence. Particularly great has been the contribution of Christian workers to women's education. Professor Fujisawa, of Tokyo Imperial University, gave an address in 1909 before the Semi-Centenary of Protestant Missions in Japan, which contains the following tribute: "The field of women's education was opened up and tilled by missionaries. . . . Even after it had germinated and started to grow missionaries cultivated it side by side with the Government."

Movements like the Young Men's Christian Association have secured valuable assistance from non-Christians, both official and private, and have won the admiration of men who care nought for the Christian religion. As the writer said, in an address at the Conference held on the 20th of October, 1910, at the White House: "The work of the Young Men's Christian Association is a force which has changed the sentiment of the Japanese toward Christianity. This has been indicated by the very generous gift by His Majesty the Em-

peror toward its work on behalf of the soldiers in Manchuria—the first gift of the kind to an institution professedly Christian." Even the Robert Ingersoll of Japan, Baron H. Kato, in his volume entitled *Evils of Christianity* says, in the chapter on "Christianity and the State:" "Although religion has so many evil features, it is not devoid of good, especially in its age-long devotion to philanthropic ministration. Christianity has been pre-eminently active and successful in such work, a fact too well known to need detailed proof. Above all, the Salvation Army's work in recent years compels our heartiest admiration."

All these Christian activities have no doubt done much to overcome prejudice and win sympathy and approval for Christianity itself: but equally potent has been the character of Christian workers. We have a pregnant saying—"The Way does not propagate men, but men propagate the Way." Certainly it is true that the character of the missionaries has been one of the most influential factors in promoting the "Jesus Way." We would not go so far as to praise the character of all the missionaries; but, speaking broadly,

their kindness, sympathy, zeal, and consecration have in hundreds of cases awakened the deepest gratitude and respect. Their truly Christian homes have seemed to impartial observers amongst us, regardless of creed, the incarnation of a hitherto unknown ideal, and convincing evidence of the truth of their religion.

But the Japanese judgment of Christianity has by no means been based solely upon its by-products. If the teachings of Christ had not the power of satisfying the deepest needs of the heart, it would be idle to expect converts among us. There are certain points in Christianity which seem to me to have appealed most strongly to Japanese. First, Christianity presents to us a Father in heaven who completely meets our ideal. The human heart can never rest content with an Absolute Reason, a vast Unknowable, or a pantheistic All. "My soul is athirst for the living God," we cry out with Israel's singer. Down the ages ring the sublimely simple words of Jesus to his Father and ours, "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God." Verily, in a vital knowledge of our Father God we have found the secret of the life immortal.

Secondly, the personality of Jesus Chris Himself—so pure, so exalted, so comprehensive so sympathetic, so courageous! None who touche that personality with open mind can resist th charm or withhold the tribute of spontaneou adoration. Men stricken down by the weigh of sin, men longing for sympathy, search in vai for relief until they find Him and exclaim, "M Saviour!" In Him they discover love revealed at its highest power, for He is absolutely "ful of grace and truth." Within the last twenty years "Jesus the condemned" has been exalted in the popular mind until He is now generally recognized as one of the few pre-eminent person of all times.

Thirdly, Christianity offers a positive view of life. Oriental religion is on the whole passive or even pessimistic. Contrasted with it Christ ianity gives us a positive, optimistic conception It is Christianity that has abolished the concep tion of religion as a dull, unprogressive, and sor rowful affair. Through the character of th missionaries and the methods of their activity religion has come to be looked upon as a matte of active life. Thus the whole idea of religio

has been changed in the minds of Japanese; especially have young men been impressed by this aspect of Christianity, and been drawn toward it.

Fourthly, Christianity gives a comparatively satisfactory world view. It does not lay undue stress upon the existence after death, nor is its chief purpose to give man full answers to his questions regarding the future life. It avoids, on the one hand, the extinction of personality, or Nirvana, taught by higher Buddhism, and, on the other hand, the physical paradise held out by popular Buddhism. It takes a middle path, and essays to satisfy the highest and deepest longings of the human spirit. Primitive Buddhism, with its doctrine of Nirvana, could not long satisfy the demands of the heart. The whole history of Oriental religion is an eloquent testimony to this fact. Strange as it may seem, Brahmanism and Buddhism alike gradually developed idolatry and other forms of worship and doctrine to satisfy the demands of ordinary human nature, and today by far the larger part of the adherents of these religions firmly believe in the future life. To be sure, the popular doc-

trine of these religions regarding the future does not satisfy the more highly educated; indeed, they are accustomed to smile at it. Nevertheless, in Japan the fact remains that both educated and uneducated, regardless of their religious affiliations, firmly believe in the immortality of the soul. A decade or so ago Mr. Tokusuke Nakae introduced into Japan the materialism of the West, in a book called *No God, No Soul.* But his arguments, like those of Baron H. Kato, are practically mere repetitions of the views of certain Western teachers. Some Buddhist priests also have assiduously preached the extinction of the soul, but the fact that both educated and uneducated Japanese alike have gone on believing, like their ancestors, in the immortality of the soul is clearly reflected both in the poetry and in the customs of the people. But when all this is said, the conception of immortality in Japan is vague and exceedingly unsatisfactory. In contrast with it Christianity brings its clear teaching of a living God, of a spiritual Father, of eternal life—beliefs all of which commend themselves to the impartial mind as reasonable, positive, and ennobling.

Fifthly, Christianity produces innumerable examples of its power to produce repentance, transformation, and new life. It thereby gains a firm basis for its apologetic, for, as our proverb puts it, "Evidence more than argument." Looked at subjectively, there are multitudes who declare that in their own experience it has given comfort to the despairing, hope to the defeated, assurance to the bewildered, and salvation to those engulfed in sin. It has brought the gift of a regenerate and victorious life to thousands who before had been at the mercy of an evil environment. And looked at objectively, any observer may see in the Christian Church not a few "twice-born men," who have been made over from "broken earthenware," each of them incontrovertible evidence of the unparalleled power of Christianity. And such social reform agencies as the ex-convicts' homes and the Salvation Army rescue work give evidence of the living power of the Gospel, which even he who runs may read.

I do not intend to dwell here upon the apologetic of Christianity, but it is clear that the indirect apologetic, such as I have alluded to above,

is most effective in Japan, as it doubtless is in other countries. Whatever one may think as to the analytic and reasoning powers of the Japanese, it is beyond controversy that they are quick to draw conclusions from concrete evidence, and when there is a sufficient number of men who are completely transformed by the power of Christ, then the progress of Christianity will be greatly accelerated.

Any one who wishes to commend Christianity to thoughtful Japanese must certainly give the most careful attention to the relation of Christianity to non-Christian religions. He must be prepared to define to himself at least what he means when he says that Christianity is the absolute religion, or, what is still more fundamental, perhaps, to define what Christianity itself is. Any one who has tried it will admit that this is no easy task. Is Christianity to be defined according to the Roman, or the Greek, or the Protestant teaching, each of which conflicts with the other at not a few points? And the problem is still further complicated by the almost innumerable divisions in Protestantism itself. Or, shall we claim that the Old and New

Testaments entire are the norm of Christianity? Or, with some, shall we hold that only the New Testament has final authority? Or, still more narrowly, shall we take the teaching of Christ Himself as the ultimate norm? Such questions as these are enough to puzzle the most confident and scholarly minds.

Again, if Christianity is the absolute religion, do we thereby declare that there is no truth whatsoever in other religions? Or, if we admit that there is truth in other faiths, does that truth spring from the Fountain of all Truth—God Himself? Is the activity of the Holy Spirit limited to times or races? For my part, it is inconceivable that any one who has impartially studied the history of religion can fail to admit the universality of the activity of the Spirit of God, and the consequent embodiment of a degree of truth in all faiths. Few of us would hesitate to agree with the noble utterance of the late Professor Max Müller regarding Buddhism and other faiths: "If I find in certain Buddhist works doctrines distinctly the same as in Christianity, so far from being frightened I am delighted, for surely Truth is not the less so be-

cause it is believed by the majority of the human race."

The point on which by far the largest number of Christians are entirely agreed is this—that in Jesus Christ God has given to man the highest and most complete manifestation of Himself, and that the teaching of Jesus possesses the highest authority of all. This belief by no means denies that God has been at work in other religions; rather it conceives it to be the mission of Christianity to fulfil, not to destroy, the other faiths. It is extremely important that in Japan an attitude of appreciation and tolerance toward the old faiths be combined with a clear-cut emphasis upon the fundamental and distinguishing characteristics of Christianity itself. One of the greatest obstacles, if not the greatest, to the spread of Christianity in Japan is the lamentable divisions of its followers. It is therefore all the more desirable that we should at least agree in faith and spirit.

Once more, it is of the utmost importance, as I have already pointed out, that Christians should study deeply the national spirit of Japan and strive to do nothing wantonly to offend it, and

especially to cast no unsympathetic reflection upon the relation of the people to the Imperial House. It seems to me that the veneration of the Japanese for the ancestors of the Imperial House and for their own ancestors is not a custom to be strongly condemned. How can we expect a man who feels no gratitude toward his own ancestors to have a true appreciation of the great mercy and goodness of God? Is it not rather for us to cultivate and guide this sentiment so that it shall be raised from mere reverence for human ancestors to worship of the great Father of all fathers? The man who thinks little of his ancestors will end by thinking little of God Himself. Consequently, it seems to me that instead of attacking the so-called worship of ancestors, the better way is to emphasize its resemblance to the true worship of the Father of Lights, leading men on until they are willing to have the lower custom swallowed up in the higher, even as the light of the stars is swallowed up in the greater glory of the sun.

In conclusion, it is important for every one concerned to realize that the Christianization of Japan is no holiday task; indeed, it is certain to

be a long and severe campaign. Since the time when Christianity assimilated Greek thought and conquered Roman civilization, it has never faced a task so stupendous as that of the conquest of the Orient. Japan, with all her progress in the arts and crafts of civilization, and all her friendliness toward Christian ethical standards, is far from being a Christian nation. Yet, gigantic as are the internal forces arrayed against Christianity, the Christian cohorts are daily growing in numbers and efficiency, and there are multitudes of Nicodemuses needing only a crisis to bring them out into the open. The disquieting consideration is that the tides of the new social and religious life are waiting for no man. To keep up with these rapid movements the Christian churches and missionary bodies should accelerate their pace. The situation in the whole Orient, in fact, constitutes one of the most splendid opportunities, and at the same time one of the gravest crises, in the whole history of the Church. With every passing year the opportunity is slipping farther from her grasp. I make bold to say that her victory or defeat in Japan will largely determine the future of Christianity in the whole Far East.

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